THE

FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Die Deutsche Litteratur*, von Wolfgang Menzel. Stuttgart. 1828.

2. *Menzel's Geschichte der Deutschen*, in einem Bande. Stuttgart und Tübingen. 1834. 7te Lieferung. 21stes Buch. Die moderne Bildung.

3. *Conversations Lexicon der neuesten Zeit und Litteratur*. Leipzig. 1833. Voce, Menzel.

WOLFGANG MENZEL is a writer who deserves to be better known than he is in this country. He is a man of more than ordinary calibre. He has *stuff* in him. The German authors in general may be divided into five classes: *Fantastics*, *Mystics*, *System-builders*, *Poetical-idealists*, or men of fancy and feeling, *Eruditi*, σοφιται, or men of learning and science. Hoffman, Chamisso, Fouqué, are well known as heads of the fantastic school; devils, gnomes, sylphs, Undines, *Doppelgänger*, and animal magnetists, are the commodities in which they deal; a pair of seven-league boots, or a bottle of devil's elixir, is the magic wand of their enchantments. Tauler and Jacob Böhmen, Novalis, Friedrich Schlegel, Steffens, Jung Stilling, Görres, &c. are the no less celebrated heads of the mystic school. They rise a degree above the fantastics, and, amid much of the childish, contain a great deal of the essentially sublime. Their ideas, though not apt to be over clear, are never shallow, often profound, and not seldom grand; if they sit not on the throne of Jove, they float upon the clouds wherewith it is encompassed. The System-builders, again, are men of enterprize and of grasp. If they are mad—as to a British perception they sometimes appear—their madness has "method" in it. Their mysticism—when mystics they are—is not a floating dream, a creation of clouds, but a pervading principle, an organizing power, a vivifying emanation. Schelling may be considered as the king of this higher class of mystics: and it may well be doubted whether the human mind is ever exhibited in a more august and commanding form than in their brotherly amalgamation of science, religion, and poetry.

Applied more closely to nature, this systematic mysticism produces such men as Oken and Schubert; whose comprehensive minds seem, in studying to recreate nature, to give us an anticipation, if not a knowledge, of her secret workings and wondrous developments. But the System-builders are not all mystics; Kant and Hegel are not less wonderful examples of the power and compass of the German mind than Schelling—the clear acuteness of the one, and the abstract logicality of the other, belong equally to the wide domain of German intellect. Our fourth class is that of the Poetical-idealists. Schiller is a larger and Körner a minor star in the constellation. Jean Paul's weeping heroes are scarcely less celebrated than Werther and Siegwart. There is a deep fountain of feeling in the German mind, often opened into tears, with which the robuster Briton cannot always sympathize; but, if tearful eyes are sometimes a sign of babyhood, tearless eyes are often the index of selfishness. Next follow the men of mere talent, to whom frugal Nature hath denied the *divini ignis particula*—these men are more numerous every where than the men of genius; but in Germany they are particularly abundant and of a higher order. There are few trifling, few superficial minds in Germany—what an honest *Deutscher* does, he does with all his might, and leaves no corner of the earth unransacked, where stones of fit size and beauty may be found, with which to fabricate his erudite mosaics. Therefore it is that we have designated the learned of Germany ὄπλιται; they are heavy-armed soldiers, panoplied with the lore of all tongues and of all ages; their works are sometimes splendid temples of science, often proud-towering rubbish-heaps of useless learning. The perseverance of a German is proverbial—"*cui nationi, inter animi dotes*"—says Leibnitz, though a German himself—*sola laboriositas concessa esse videtur.*" A hard saying: but in some respects true. If German literature is useful for nothing else, it is useful, yea indispensable, as an index to the literature of the whole world.

Sed quorsum hæc? Our end is to show what Wolfgang Menzel is, by first setting forth, comprehensively, what he is not. He is neither a fantastic, nor a mystic, nor a system-builder, nor a poetical-idealist, nor a mere heavy-armed man of erudition. In so far as by *Germanism* we understand *nonsense*, whether it be ignorant nonsense or learned nonsense, nonsense puerile, or nonsense senile—whether it be clever nonsense or silly nonsense, nonsense religious, philosophical, poetical, musical, artistical, political—thus far, we can assure such of our readers as are, not without reason, apprehensive of being infected with the epidemic disease of *Teutomania*—that Wolfgang Menzel is no German. "*Er schreibt wie ein Britte*"—said one of his countrymen, in

giving his opinion of Menzel's style. "He writes like an Englishman!" certainly a very strange, and to us, a very complimentary manner for a German to express his admiration of one of his native authors.

To pass from negatives to positives, we would say—Menzel is a man of a sound mind, of a strong mind, of an acute mind, and of a comprehensive mind. He is essentially of the Doric order. He has more power than beauty, and his beauty is always of a masculine cast, seldom if ever softened down into feminine sweetness. To illustrate the unknown by the known, he has more affinity with Lessing than with any other German author familiar to the British student. He has also some of the fire and some of the sarcasm of Martin Luther; and when we have compared him with two such great names in the history of German literature—always, of course, *deductis deducendis*—we have said enough to indicate that we have to do with a mind of no ordinary calibre. Menzel is decidedly a practical man and a sound-headed man; with him there is no vague dreaming, no interminable groping, no high-sounding but empty palaver—he fixes his eyes upon that which human eyes can see at one glance, and pursues his cue with indefatigable endeavour and certain success. He never prefers a circuitous route to a straight one, when the straight is equally convenient—he never loses sight of the end in the means—and, from all his speculations, which, as being those of a German, are many, both wide and deep, returns to the all-important question—how, under present circumstances, the civil and religious condition of his country may most surely and most speedily be ameliorated? With Pfitzer, Schott, and a few other high-minded patriots in south-western Germany, Menzel has done a great deal to draw the minds of his countrymen away from those splendid but profitless dreameries in which they have too long indulged, and taught them to apply their hands to the more solid though less dazzling architecture of practical life. With this tendency, Menzel's literary existence could not do otherwise than assume a polemical character; and, to sustain this character, Nature seems to have armed her chosen champion with the choicest weapons, both offensive and defensive, for intellectual warfare. Strong and able-bodied from his youth, he endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to realize in practice those gymnastics of the Greeks on which the erudition of consumptive pedants had so long fruitlessly commented; to recal his transcendental countrymen from the learning of the dead to the wisdom of the living, has been, and is, his unremitting endeavour. To attain these ends, unflinching rebukes and unsparing satires could not be applied with too much resolution; and in the fearlessness of the

one, Menzel has no equal but in Fichte, as in the severity of the other he has no rival but in Richter. Heine and Börne bespatter their countrymen with the merciless mud of vulgar abuse, and hold their political sloth up to the scorn of Europe, amid the squibs and crackers of Parisian wit. Not so Menzel. He sees the weakness of his country, but he also knows its strength; his lash, when called for, is speedy and unsparing, but not inflicted with a willing hand, or with an air of malignant triumph. He may warn, he may rebuke, but he will not curse the mother that bore him. Like the author of the *Reisebilder*, Wolfgang Menzel is a ringleader of that bold sect which has ventured to call in question the title of Göthe to the kingly seat on the German Parnassus—but he is too dignified to indulge in literary Billingsgate, and no protrusive egotism leads us to question the purity of those motives by which his opposition is animated. He is a preacher of new doctrines, but not as a babbler; a caster-down of images, but not as a fanatic.

Our author is a poet, a critic, an historian, a politician—and, as all German authors are, a philosopher. It is only in his critical capacity that we have at present any concern with him—but no man can read a page of his "German Literature" without perceiving that the acuteness of the critic is here merely an instrument in the hand of the profound philosopher, the brilliant poet, the patriotic politician.

The work to which we propose more particularly to direct our attention—the "Deutsche Litteratur"—has been long known and valued in Germany as the most profound and most original work on its native literature that has yet appeared in that country. Franz Horn's works are brisk and lively, and at the same time most comprehensive and exhaustive in their erudition—but he is too thoroughly German in his feelings to be relished by those who have not studied at Berlin or at Munich—his veneration, too, for a certain Christian simplicity and quietistical calmness of character often borders closely on mawkishness and puerility. Menzel again, is, as we have said, a man of nerve—nothing feminine, weak, or dreamy, nothing empty or childish, can he tolerate; *manly* is the image and superscription of his being. We have little doubt, therefore, that, if ever introduced, this author will become a favourite with the British public—at least such of them who, amid the bustle of ephemeral politics, still retain an eye for the beauty of art and the dignity of intellect.

The work on German literature is not a history but a characteristic—not a geographical tracing of the stream from its fountain-head to its æstuary, but a panoramic view of the landscape, its present state, and future prospects. It is divided into two parts,

that stand to one another in the relation of spirit to body, of principle to practice. The one is the physiology, the other the classification, of literary botany. The first part contains the following titles: "The Mass of Literature—Nationality—Influence of School-learning—Influence of Foreign Literature—The Trade of Literature—Religion—Philosophy—History—State-Education." The second part is well digested under three heads: "Nature—Art—Criticism." The style of Menzel is so solid and so well squared, that there is little or no room for the lopping or epitomizing work of the reviewer. He himself gives us only the essence and extract of long digested and closely compacted thoughts. There remains for us, therefore, little or nothing to do but to select and give prominence to some of those paragraphs that, either from their own nature or from British associations, are likely to be read with peculiar interest.

The literature of a nation is but the reflex, or rather we should say it is the offspring, of its character—and he who would know the son must know the father. What then is the national character of the Germans? Some people tell us that they have no national character at all; or, if they have any, it consists in a sort of "wise passiveness" (not exactly in Wordsworth's sense) whereby they receive into themselves and appropriate the characters of all nations that are or have been on the stage of the world. "We are bears," says Menzel, "in the eyes of many, and can do nothing without a foreign dancing-master." And, truly, if we consider the successive Gallomania, Anglomania, and Græcomania, that gave a name to the most important eras of German literature, we shall see some causes to fear that this accusation is not altogether groundless. No person can say that Shakspeare or Milton imitated any man or nation of men: they are as thoroughly original, as much *sui generis*, as Homer and Æschylus; but Wieland, it is said, was a Frenchman, Klopstock an Englishman (a caricature of Milton), and Göthe was a Greek. Certain it is that in no country is foreign literature so universally studied as in Germany. To see the ardour with which they throw themselves on our Shakspeares and our Scotts, and even our Bulwers and our Wilsons,* one should imagine that the idolatry which is paid to Göthe and Schiller consists more in a sort of national pride, than in a real admiration of any thing substantially excellent in these authors. Surely a nation that imports so

* We have on our table a work entitled "Tom Cringle's Schiff's Tagebuch, oder Abentheuer eines Offiziers der Englischen Marine, von Wilson: aus dem Englischen übersetzt von August Schaefer." We congratulate the learned professor on this unexpected accession to his continental fame!

much foreign corn must be wofully barren of native aliment. Such are the arguments of those who decry the literature of Germany without knowing it; forgetting too, that, even if the Germans were so devoid of originality as they represent them, this very lack of national character, this very merging of the character of *German* in that of *man*, is capable of an explanation which redounds most highly to the honour of the Teutonic race. Menzel sees the evil and acknowledges it as freely as any of our dogmatical criticasters may; but he knows also that there is no evil that has not also its concomitant good; and, of this universality, and manysidedness, as it is called, this imitative instinct and appropriating power of the German mind, he gives the following account.

" The deepest fount of this inclination for things foreign (says he, p. 44) is the *humanity* of the German character. We are thorough cosmopolitans. Our nationality is to have no nationality at all, but to substitute what belongs to man in general for the particular peculiarities that distinguish other nations. We appropriate the culture of all nations, and would regenerate in ourselves the blossoms of the human mind in every age. Other nations strive to make themselves a normal nation for the whole world; but this they do not by self-annihilation, but by imprinting their own image on all mankind. We have the same ambition to make our race a normal race for the whole world; but we strive after a different fashion; we strive to realize the ideal of a philosophical archetype. Other nations reverence what is foreign, but they do not therefore think it necessary to undervalue themselves. Nevertheless, this self-denial has its good side, and its foundation in nature. There can be no true love without self-denial. Egotism and national vanity are the greatest enemies of culture. *The noblest nations have always been the most tolerant, and the basest always the most conceited.*

" Our love for what is foreign thus arises from our philosophical and cosmopolitan character; but it has also another root, and that is our poetical and romantic disposition. A poetical illusion floats with a beautifying power around all that is foreign, and takes our imagination captive. We possess this magic art of mystifying ourselves; we metamorphose ourselves into dramatic personages and give ourselves over to a foreign illusion. Many of our learned men have thought themselves so into Greeks, many of our romanticists so into the middle ages, many of our politicians so into France and French, many of our theologians so into the Bible, that they know no more of what is going on around them than a somnambulist. This state of mind is very closely allied to madness, and in madness it too often ends."

This is severity following upon apology, and almost neutralizing its kindly influence. But it is in this species of unsparing attack, this unqualified slash of the scimitar, that Menzel's strength lies. He has too great a love for beauty to soften down distortion, even in the features of his German mother.

But we recur to the question and ask, what is the distinguishing feature of the German character? That they have no character at all, as the French Abbé supposed they had no genius, is a proposition too absurd to be maintained in the present era of European development. Sterne may be a weak imitator of Cervantes and Rabelais; but to call Jean Paul Richter a weak imitator of Sterne would betray an ignorance and a presumption equal only to that of Voltaire, when he proclaimed himself the rival of Æschylus and the judge of Shakspeare. They who deny originality, wit, and humour, to every other German author, must surely concede them all, and much more than all, to Richter. This man's name is of itself sufficient to answer all the unworthy jibes and jeers that have been idly thrown in the face of the German muse. When we find united in one mind all the humour of Rabelais, without its nastiness—all the feeling of Sterne, without its affectation—all the intellect of Kant, without its systematic stiffness—all the beauty of Göthe, without its coldness—shall we say that the nation which possesses such a mind is destitute of originality and invention? To the man who knows and sympathises with German literature the very thought is treason, and the broaching of the question only shows that it deserves no answer.

Madame de Staël long ago drew the proper line of designation, when she said that "Germany is the native country of thought." The Germans are a sort of "intellectual miners," and spiritual moles—and this is one among the many reasons why their merits are so often concealed from superficial eyes. As the Hindoo philosophers convert every thing into religion, and every thing in nature is with them a mere modification of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, these sacred three themselves being mere modifications of the one eternal Brahm—so the Germans can do nothing without metaphysics. They must have a principle and a soul in every thing, and the whole of external nature and life is valuable to them only in so far as it is a revelation of the internal Divinity, in whom we live and move and have our being. Jean Paul said ironically that God had given them the air for their domain, as he had the land to the French and the sea to the English. He might have said with more truth, though with less humour, that the Germans are masters of the soul, while other nations control the body—the one are lords of the world within, the other lords of the world without. Menzel has given a prominent place to this distinctive character under the head of nationality—and, as usual, he shows us both the light and the dark side of this picture, and begins, after his fashion, with the most unsparing severity.

"From the oldest times have we Germans been a fantastical nation. In the middle ages we were mystical, and now we can live only in the cold region of intellect. In all ages we have manifested an exuberant power and fulness of soul, that, welling forth impetuously within, pays but little regard to the world without. Ever have we been awkward and helpless in practical life, but so much more at home in the inner world, and all our national virtues and vices can be deduced from this one source—this meditative, brooding propensity of our inward man. It is this that makes us, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, a literary nation, and it is this that gives our literature its distinctive character. The writings of other nations are more practical, because their life is more practical; our writings have a cast of *overnaturality* or *unnaturality*, something savouring of ghosts and kobolds, which is always at war with the actual state of the world, and that because we never have our eyes on any thing but the strange world of our inner man. We are more fantastical than other nations, not only because our fancy takes more monstrous flights into the regions of the ideal, but also because we believe our dreams to be true. Our feelings follow our imaginations, and now sink as low into the mawkishness of domestic sentiment as they at other times rise high into the exuberance of pietistical reveries.* Our intellect takes even larger flights than our fancy—we launch out into the infinite blue of empty space, and, as speculatists and system-builders, we are followed by a *fama clamosa*, a hue and cry, from every corner of the globe. Our splendid theories, however, we can realize nowhere but in our literature, and thus we give an undue preponderance to the world of words, above the life, of which words are but the sign—and foreign nations are not far wrong, when they despise us as book-worms and as pedants.

"But this is only the dark side of the picture, as to which, however, we are unwilling to practise any self-deception. Opposed to this, we can boast a light side of our national literature, to which strangers much less frequently do justice. We aim at a universal cultivation of mind, and not in vain do we offer, to attain this important end, all our energies and all our national ambition. The knowledge which we acquire might well be more beneficial to our race than many loudly-trumpeted deeds of glory; and there may be more true honour in learning from a foreign nation than in achieving a victory over it. There is in our national character something peculiarly fitted to elevate and humanize the race. In every possible direction, we put forth our strength in the great work of extending our knowledge. Nature has given us a sympathy with all her doings; and our intellect collects from all quarters the objects that its capacious grasp desires, and penetrates into the inmost depths of all the mysteries of nature, life,

* It is worth while to remark how exactly this criticism of Menzel's tallies with what Mr. Bulwer puts into the mouth of his German student in the Pilgrims of the Rhine. "With our most imaginative works we mix a homeliness that we fancy touching, but which in reality is ludicrous. We eternally step from the sublime to the ridiculous—we want taste."

and the soul. There is no nation so multifarious in its intellectual development as the German; and what the individual wants is made complete in the varied whole. It is only by a wise distribution of the different organs of knowledge among individuals that an accumulation of science in the mass can be realized.

We appeal to any person in the least acquainted with German literature—we appeal to every unprejudiced observer of national character—whether this be not a most impartial and a most just self-anatomizing of the German mind. Could any judge sum up more impartially the opposite evidence on both sides of a case? Our critics in this country either condemn the Germans wholesale, or run into a sort of wild idolatry, which perhaps does more harm than indiscriminate censure,—but a masterly portrait of the thing as it is—a just estimate of its good and its bad—it is strange, passing strange, that we should have first received from a German!

One evil, and not a small one, which flows from this contemplative habit of the Germans, is what they in their language very impressively designate by one word, *Vielschreiberei*, but which we are forced to make intelligible to ourselves by two Latin words, *cacoëthes scribendi*. A man cannot think and feel much, without having a desire to express what he thinks and feels. A woman cannot be always in labour—she must bring forth;—even so a man cannot be always a thinker—he must write a book. And thus is generated that chaos of mis-born imps, that tumble and reel annually, to the amount of millions,* in the literary mud and slime of the Leipsic fair. On this great evil our author is peculiarly severe. He gives vent to his bile in the very first page;—yea, in the very first sentence of his work. The following is certainly a very abrupt, and, to German ears, not a little startling (we fear to many an ungrateful), proëmium of a work on literary history.

"We Germans do little, but write so much the more. When one of our descendants, in future centuries, shall look back upon the present epoch of German history, he will be apt to find more books than men in our nation. He may march back through past years, as through so many repositories. He will say, that we have been sleeping, and that books are our dreams. We have made ourselves a nation of scribblers, and might fitly exchange the double eagle of our heraldry for a goose. The pen governs and serves, works and rewards, fights and feeds, blesses and curses for us. We leave the Italians their sky, the Spaniards their saints, the French their deeds, the English

* "According to a moderate calculation, ten millions of volumes are printed every year in Germany."—*Menzel.*

their bags of money, and sit contentedly at our books. The meditative German nation, devoted to thinking and feeling, has time for nothing but writing. It invented the art of printing, and thinks it a duty to work indefatigably at the great machine. School erudition, affectation of things foreign, fashion, and bibliopolism have done the rest: and thus is piled up the immeasurable mass of books that waxes with every day. And we stand astounded at this *monstrum horrendum*, this new wonder of the world, the Cyclopean walls, which the mind has raised, not the hands."

We assent to every word of this powerful writing, except one. Are not the *deeds* of the British as glorious as those of the French?—and is the reproach of *la nation boutiquière* to stick to us for ever? We sincerely hope that this reproach is altogether unfounded.

Under the heads "Religion"—"Philosophy"—"State-Education"—which explain themselves, there is much that could not fail to interest the British reader; but we are compelled to pass by them, with scarcely a hasty glance at their contents. Though writing professedly on literature, Menzel has thought it necessary to dedicate full eighty pages to a searching examination of the present state of religion in his native country; convinced probably, as we are, that religion is the mother of poetry, and that a literature, which has no devotion to animate it, must always remain in a great measure shallow and unsatisfactory. He complains, not without reason, of the indifference to religion at present so common in Germany, especially amongst the Protestants; and notes it, as at once an evidence and an effect of this universal apathy, that Catholicism and Pietism† are every where on the increase. To this latter, indeed, our author seems to attribute a degree of importance which, from a man of his strong understanding, we could scarcely have expected; but we are to bear in mind that Menzel is no mere anatomizer—no mere "reasoning self-sufficient thing"—no "intellectual all in all:" he has a heart as well as a head, and the proud temple of science is to him little better than a death-vault, when not animated by the genial life-glow of poesy. Himself a poet, it is no wonder that he should prefer the deep earnestness of the Pietists and the Mystics to the cold calculation of the self-styled Rationalists. There is one class of men in particular, whom Menzel, influenced by this feeling, has, though himself a stanch Protestant, taken under his peculiar protection. We mean the much-undervalued

† *Pietism* in Germany is pretty much the same as *Methodism* with us; the worthy Spener, we believe, was the father of the sect to which this appellation was originally applied.

poetical Catholics, with Tieck, Friedrich Schlegel, and Novalis at their head, whom Göthe used to sit in his chair with so much self-complacency, and laugh at. The "master-mind," however great he might be, in his own element of the beautiful in art, seems to have been a perfect child in devotion—a good easy David Hume of poesy, who, enjoying the present, allowed the religionists to fight to their hearts' content about the future—and looked on and smiled. Menzel is not a man to trifle with any thing, much less with religion; and he is not ashamed to profess his preference of a warm glowing Catholicism of the heart to a cold self-contained Protestantism of the understanding. On this principle is based his defence of Görres, Steffens, and other fraternal spirits, whom the narrow and exclusive criticism of the Kantians has condemned, wholesale, as enthusiasts and "whirl-heads."

"A whole band of slavish souls" says he, "has united to banish such a man as Görres from the literary hemisphere of Germany—a man of the most original genius, and whose works are a triumph of the most complete spiritual freedom. The view taken by these ostracists is the most narrow and slavish that can be conceived. To the mere outward form of faith they ascribe an omnipotent influence over the mind of man—whereas it is the mind that exercises dominion over his faith. These men vainly conceive that, as the seal of Protestantism, wherewith they are stamped, has metamorphosed them at once into free and cultivated men, so the seal of Catholicism, wherewith their adversaries are stamped, has necessarily rendered them barbarians and slaves: and they have no perception of this most simple truth, that, as Catholicism, in a great and pure mind, may assume a most worthy and venerable shape, so Protestantism, in such narrow minds as theirs, may sink down into a most unworthy caricature."

Thus far of religion and Catholicism. We only remark, by way of practical inference, that there is not a little here from which we moral church-going English might take a useful hint. If there were as much piety as there is church-going in our land, as much true Protestantism as there is a superstitious cry of "No Popery," we should be an exemplary nation indeed!

It is with much reluctance that we make no extracts from the interesting chapters on philosophy, politics, and education. The narrow exclusiveness of Kant, the notional despotism of Hegel, in philosophy; the shameful passiveness of the German people, the insinuating circumvention of the Prussian *bureaucratie*, in politics; the bigotry of the classical monopolists, the mania of the utilitarian *pandidactics*, in education—all these, most fitting subjects as they are for the application of Menzel's lash, we are

compelled to pass over, in our haste to arrive at the proper literary department of the work.

Our readers have already seen enough of the manly grasp which our author takes of his subject, to form a pretty accurate anticipation of the manner in which Menzel walks over the proper literary division of his extensive domain. He takes a broad and expanded view of the mighty field of action that lies before him, and is too anxious for important results to dwell upon those ephemeral phenomena, that, however beautiful, flit before the eyes but for a minute, and then disappear, leaving no trace of their working behind. Hence it is that he sometimes seems to make too sweeping conclusions, and, with an unqualified reprobation, to condemn that in the gross, which in the detail unquestionably presents many singular and attractive beauties. But, in a work which aims to give not the history but the spirit of literature, this is the only practicable, the only rational, procedure. It is not with pretty poems, but with great poets, that in such a case we have to do. It is not on mere verses, much less on rhymes, that we are to descant, but it is on the soul, the animating spirit, that breathes in the literature as in the life of a people. It is a trite saying, that the noblest poetry is often written in prose; and it is a saying which we must peculiarly bear in mind, when attempting to form to ourselves an intelligible outline of the great body of German literature. There is a poetical element in every member of that mighty leviathan. We must expect to find poetry in its metaphysics, poetry in its theology, and poetry in its philosophy of nature. Schelling, Oken, and Görres, are no less poets than Göthe, Wieland, and Schiller.

With this understanding, we shall not be surprised at the summary manner in which Menzel dismisses not a few names of might from his literary review. Are they men of strong intellect, of pure heart, and of elevated principles? what have they done, either by word or deed, to assist in the great work of the advancement and amelioration of human nature? These are the questions to which every candidate for a place on Menzel's Parnassus of the Germans must give a ready and an explicit answer; and, if the answer is unsatisfactory or suspicious, the petitioners are immediately elbowed out, as mere cumberers of the ground and impeders of necessary business. The mere man of amusement, the mere poetical mountebank, the mere carver and gilder, the mere rareeshow-man of literature, however much he may have been estimated in his day, if he has done nothing else, meets with no more attention from our stern Aristippus than if he were a dancing bear. Amusement is all very well for

a recreation, but to make a business of amusement, even though it be amusement of the highest kind, as in developing the formation of the bones, or watching the metamorphosis of plants, if it have no reference to the moral amelioration and advancement of our race, is with Menzel an unpardonable sin: and, on this score, as we shall see, even the universal and autocratic Göthe is treated with a nonchalance, and dismissed with an unceremoniousness, which might almost make a weak mind tremble for the stability of the universe itself.

With some qualifications, however, which the tenor of these remarks will easily suggest to the reader, Menzel is a most just and impartial critic. No man could possibly be more catholic. He delights to search out and acknowledge every thing that is noble and great in the intellectual world, under whatever form it may appear. Having once set himself forth as the advocate of Schiller and the antagonist of Göthe, he has naturally been led to maintain his original polemical character, and preserve the same attitude of war through all the successive scenes of his literary activity. With regard to these men, therefore, his *dictum* must always be received *cum grano salis*. But, when there is no reason to suspect any bias, his judgment is always deserving of the very highest respect. If we except Göthe, to whom he seems to cherish a declared and unmitigated hostility, there is no great German author, none of the *Dii majorum gentium*, to whom he has not done merited justice. Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Tieck, Richter, and even Wieland, all receive from him the full meed of ready and discriminating praise. Still the polemical Brougham-like activity of his nature never sleeps long: and the unintelligent herd of imitators, that turn every thing great into caricature, seldom escape unchastised from his hand. He has also a most savage enmity against Voss, which, to the degree Menzel carries it, we find it very difficult to excuse or even to palliate; for surely the man who wrote "Luise," though he might be a weak and a narrow, certainly was a good and an amiable, man. We give a hint here *in transitu*, which we hope may come to Menzel's ear, that in moderation and tolerance of criticism that arch-heretic Göthe might give him some most useful lessons. Most pitiless in particular, though certainly in many respects not undeserved, is the censure with which he endeavours to annihilate that whole class of "destiny or fatalistic tragedies," which, since the precedent shown by Müllner, has been inundating the German stage. The thing may be overdone, certainly, and if it is a good thing, the overdoing of it will only make it so much the worse: but what is there in the "Guilt" more than there is in "Hamlet," or many other plays

that we could mention, to authorize the indiscriminate charge of fatalism, upon which the destiny-tragedies have been so often condemned wholesale? It rather appears to us, that in Müllner's play there is a satisfactory reason assigned in the very name, for the apparently indiscriminate game which Fate plays among her victims. "The iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children even unto the third and fourth generations." But in Hamlet all is chance, all is blind, inexplicable, contradictory fate; man is made the football of fortune; and a capricious God seems to take delight in defeating the best concerted plans of the wise, and thrusting unmerited advancement upon the foolish. Menzel, however, who has had better opportunities of seeing the destiny-system in full operation than could possibly have fallen to our lot, admits of no such favourable comparisons. He distinguishes philosophically between the Fate of the ancient Greek tragedians and the Destiny of the modern fatalistic playwrights. As Mr. Gillies some years ago laboured, we hope not altogether unsuccessfully, to introduce Müllner, Grillparzer, and the other destiny-tragedians to the British public, perhaps a sample of Menzel's criticism on this theme may not be altogether unwelcome.

"Müllner," says he, "treading in Werner's steps, drew the destiny-tragedy out into that frightful caricature in which it now walks abroad, ghost-like, on every German stage. Werner's 'February,' gave the first impulse, and Müllner's 'Guilt" was the culminating point, and this strange mannerism straightway spread abroad on all sides like a pestilence. The new phasis was not essentially different from the old; but its Fate is always a hostile, destructive, revengeful power. With the ancient Greek tragedy it agrees only in name. We must be allowed, however, to draw a little more accurately the line of distinction.

"In the ancient tragedy, Fate was an iron, inexorable, truly sublime power, horrible and yet beautiful, worthy of the idea that we have of an all-ruling destiny. It stood as eternal necessity opposed to heaven-storming liberty, and the measure of its sublimity lay in the power and dignity of the hero. The more free, the more exalted, the more divine the hero, so much the mightier, deeper, holier, was the power that set bounds to his striving. This pervading idea of the Greek drama is in the conflict of the hero against Destiny; and this Destiny, though in itself invincible and unchanging, receives, nevertheless, a relative greatness from the strength of the resistance that is made to it, and the worth of the victim that is sacrificed to it, which relative greatness alone gives Fate a right to assume a poetical significancy. In the free will, the power, and the inward worth of the hero, the criterion of tragedy lay. By how much greater and worthier the hero, by so much more powerful was Fate, so much nobler was the conflict, so much more sublime the poetical fiction. The resistance of the hero was themeasure of the whole poem. Such is also the tragedy of Schiller,

and such tragedy alone did he make a favourite with the Germans. But now what has become of all his promising blossom, when moral impotence and a sickly striving after originality presumptuously seek to lair themselves upon his laurels?

"The heroes of our modern destiny-tragedies are without volition, without worth, without dignity. From their birth upward they are in the hand of a dark mysterious power.* They commit their monstrous crimes, not as free agents but as predestined. A curse, inherited from an ancestress, or inflicted by a malignant Sycorax, drives them on to their fate; and their sin, like its punishment, is indissolubly connected with one unavoidable fatal hour of their existence. The poor sinner must sin because this happens to be the 24th or 29th of February, and no other day. Not from any incitement of passion, not from any determination of will, does his sin proceed; if there is any motive in him, it is not his own, but inherited as a judicial punishment, transmitted as a curse. Yea even the Devil himself needs take no trouble to seduce him; he must sin when the clock strikes twelve, and the dagger is the hour-hand, and the heart which he transfixes is the mysterious number—the hand advances, and the deed of terror is done. The witch-trials are profound and intellectual, when compared with this meaningless fatalism. In them, man, however beset with devils, has yet a free choice left, and the powers of darkness must work for their prey before they are sure of it. But in these Destiny-plays there is no need of a compact between Faust and Mephistopheles. The hero has neither choice nor enjoyment; and the powers of darkness themselves have not the pleasure of combating the yielding strength of man, and leaving the field of battle with a solemn ovation. It is an unmeaning game with puppets. It is impossible that even the Devil himself can feel any thing but *ennui* at a sport, where he has no strength to baffle, no will to overreach, no holiness to corrupt, no angel to seduce,—no office to perform but that of a common executioner on subjects, which are delivered ready for decapitation to his hand."

So much for Müllner and Grillparzer. It is time, however, that we leave this skirmishing with lesser heroes, and advance into the very heat and throng of the battle. We must endeavour to grapple with the grand *quæstio vexata* of German literature—the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ.* We are called upon to decide the great question, whether Göthe or Schiller be the king of the German Parnassus—and the divided worshippers of the literary world wait with suspense upon our decision, whether Göthe be a divine Shekinah, or a golden calf of the idolaters.

We perceive Menzel, like a sturdy old Gaul, advance fearlessly up to the chief-consul of literary senators, and, regardless of his

* We beg pardon for this interruption, but we must be permitted to ask Dr. Menzel whether this observation does not apply to Œdipus Tyrannus as well as to the heroes of "*Die Schuld*" and of "*Die Ahnfrau!*"

calm, dignified, godlike demeanour, impiously pluck his beard. Heaven and earth are in awe-struck expectation, what punishment shall follow such unheard-of audacity.

The truth of the matter is, that the great Göthe—for great he certainly was, by the admission of all parties—has been so much bepraised and bewondered, and the admiration justly due to his genius, has run wild, as well in this country as in Germany, into such a rankness of besotted idolatry, that there was an imperative necessity that some one should arise to revindicate to the literary mind its lost independence, and dispel from the eye-sight of men that mist which an overheated enthusiasm had raised. The Minerva who was destined to perform this kind office is Menzel; and none could have been chosen better fitted for such an honourable enterprize. Schlegel (A. W. we mean) has once again, by a few miserable squibs and lampoons,* attempted to darken that halo of glory which shines round the consecrated head of Schiller; but, we believe, the blasts of his penny trumpet never produced any effect, but to throw back ridicule on him who blew them: and the name of Schiller still stands resplendent in its own unsullied purity. Not so ineffective, we fear, have been the shafts, or rather the blows, which Wolfgang Menzel has from time to time directed against the Olympian head of Germany's poetical Jove. Menzel was not a man to strike, without knowing what he was striking at; the words that he wrote are as well-aimed strokes of a hammer—they are sure to *tell*. We must not, therefore, expect to find Göthe coming entirely unscathed out of this doughty warfare—though the crown may still remain on his head, yet, to Menzel-illumined eyes, it shines no more with a divine, but with a human, lustre. Göthe still remains a great man, a splendid piece of humanity; but he is no more the only great man that Germany or Europe contains. He is a man, according to Menzel's view, and merely a man; no demi-god, much less a god, the last and greatest incarnation of the poetic Brahma.

Our space, as well as our tactics, on this occasion, lead us to plunge straightway *in medias res*. We have no inclination to dash off our critical arabesques upon the Doric portico of Menzel's well-compacted edifice. We extract the following quintessence of our author's *Anti-Götheism* from the "History of the Germans."—p. 776.

"Göthe had all the delicate tact of Lessing, with a much richer

* As that,

"So lang es Schwaben gibt, in Schwaben
Wird Schiller stets Bewunderer haben."

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imagination, but without his manliness; all the tenderness and sensibility of Herder, but without his faith. So far as the mere handling of his subject was concerned, he was, doubtless, the greatest of our poets; but he had no enthusiasm for any thing but himself, and his works are merely flattering portraitures of his own individuality. As, in his study at Weimar, he was wont so to dispose himself in reference to the light, that he might appear to strangers who came to visit him under the most pictorial distribution of light and shade, so were all his works mere artificial means of throwing a favourable light upon himself. He had no sympathy with the world, but in so far as it served him for this end. For the affairs of his country he had no eye—he positively hated them. He sung the praise of Napoleon, because Napoleon flattered him, and during the great liberation war (in 1813) he shut himself up in his study, occupied with Chinese trifles, and disgusted with an age that acknowledged something greater than himself. This man, however, to his cotemporaries appeared to be the greatest man alive; and that, because he could not flatter himself, without at the same time flattering a countless number of souls as base as his own, and because his talent threw a poetical beauty over the inclinations of an aristocracy, that, boasting of a high degree of refinement, submitted willingly to the lowest grade of national degradation. Lessing had frightened the weaklings of the age—they were contented to admire him, but felt his sting not the less severely. Göthe was their favourite, because he convinced them that their weakness was beauty."

This certainly is no spare measure of rebuke; but the reader must remember that it is Menzel who is attacking, and Göthe who is attacked. "In the wars of the giants," as Jeffray said, in speaking of Lord Brougham, "great blows must be given and received." The admirers of Göthe were too numerous and too loud to be affected by what might appear to them to be the mere "whisper of a faction." A declared and open war was necessary to make head against the long-established monarchy of Götheism; and none but a bold and dauntless leader could change the presumptive name of rebel into that of hero and of patriot.

Not to go too far into a vague and loose declamation, the charges brought against Göthe by Menzel and his friends may be reduced to the following:—

1. That he was no politician.
2. That he was no patriot.
3. That he was selfish and egotistical.
4. That he had no enthusiasm.
5. That he had no religion.
6. That he had no morality.
7. That he affected an air of state and majesty, and thought himself entitled to the veneration of the whole world.

The charges in this indictment are clearly and distinctly stated, and we shall endeavour to answer them with as great brevity as possible, pleading either guilty or not guilty, with or without such modifications as shall appear necessary or advisable.

Article 1. Admitted. "Göthe wanted to *observe*, his age wanted to *act*."—FALK. . . Every man cannot be a politician, even though a Universal Suffrage Bill should attempt to make him so by force. At the same time, we cannot help observing, that that lack of interest in things political, which Göthe himself again and again admits, squares but ill with the "universality and manysidedness" of which we have of late heard so much. Göthe himself allows (in his Morphologie), "Wir sind an's Leben, nicht an die Betrachtung angewiesen,—Man is an active, not a contemplative, being;" and yet his own life is a continual practical denial of his own maxim. A man of action must take an interest in politics. Göthe was no man of action, therefore he was no politician. What dreaming, passive, substanceless, creatures are his heroes! What is Werther? a die-away. What is Faust? a dreamer, and one who cannot even dream himself, but lets the Devil dream for him. What is Meister? a milksop, a nincompoop, the football of circumstance.

Article 2. Admitted as a corollary from article one; but under the qualification, *Non omnia possumus omnes.* Horace was a great poet, but a bad soldier. Cicero was a great orator, but a bad poet. Bacon was a great philosopher, but he could not withstand a bribe. It was not in Göthe's nature to be fired with the enthusiasm of a Körner or an Arndt, because he had no eye for things political. Whether Homer was as valiant in the fight as that Achilles whose valour he celebrates, we cannot tell; but we know that to do great deeds is one faculty, and to sing of great deeds is another faculty. It would be absurd to demand of an artist to *be* all that which it is his vocation only to *describe.*

Article 3. Denied *in toto.* A kindlier man than Göthe, except perhaps Jean Paul, never existed. Of this the manner in which he has spoken of Herder, Voss, and Schiller—men in many respects the antipodes of himself—is a sufficient proof. Göthe loved nature and loved art, with a fondness and a constancy never equalled. And the man who does so cannot be selfish, cannot be egotistical.

Article 4. Denied—Göthe had an enthusiasm, but a calm and clear, not a noisy and troubled enthusiasm. His enthusiasm, however, was not, like that of many men of the present age, vented entirely in chasing political, theological, and pedagogical bubbles. He had an enthusiasm for the beautiful in nature, and for the

Answer not a fool according to his folly, etc

beautiful in art, as imitative thereof. With the grand, the sublime, the powerful, the terrible, he had no sympathy—his strength is the strength of rest, and his sublime is the sublime of composure. There is no objection that is brought against Göthe, under this head, that cannot at the same time be brought against Wordsworth, Coleridge, and a host of other most elect sons of the Muse. Nay, this lack of enthusiasm may, with equal force, be urged against the whole art and ideal of the Greeks. The Jupiter Capitolinus shakes his ambrosian locks in quiet dignity, and the Apollo aims his certain shaft without perturbation. It is only in the low regions of earth that the storms rage and the winds contend; above, all is serene, all is divine.

Article 5. This article is denied, when stated in the unqualified terms in which it appears in the indictment. It is admitted, however, that religion was not the element in which Göthe's muse delighted to dwell.

Here, again, the trumpeters of the "manysided master-mind of Germany" find themselves at a discount. We never could discover that strong development of the bump of veneration on Göthe's cranium, of which Carlyle and some of our German *illuminati* so mysteriously discourse. Franz Horn, who sets out with that intolerant rule of criticism, that none but a true Christian can be a true poet, has great difficulty in discovering where Göthe's Christianity lies. At the same time, as the "*dear dear man*" whom he reveres as the first of poets after Shakspeare, must be brought within the orthodox fold by some contrivance or other, he sees the secret sun of Göthe's Christian piety glowing in that beautiful little Indian legend—"The God and the Bayadere." The critic of Shakspeare is right, if, from this poem he draws the conclusion that Göthe had one of those chords in his heart which might, if properly touched, have learned to vibrate to the music of the Christian scheme. But if he attempts to go further, and thinks to tie down this poetical Proteus to the definite and exact shape of the Gospel of Christ, he will find himself egregiously deceived. The smiling angel will straightway metamorphose itself into a lascivious faun, and the woman, so beautiful above, prove a filthy sea-monster below.

Article 6. This article is in one sense true, and in another sense false. Göthe was not a moralist, but he was not therefore an immoral man. None of his works are written with a view of inculcating any moral precept, but they do not, therefore, inculcate immorality. To him, the *good* (τὸ ἀγαθὸν) appeared only under the avatar of the *beautiful* (τὸ καλὸν), and that which is *right* appeared only under the phasis of the *natural*. The words *duty*, and *ought*, were not in his dictionary, but for these

he substituted *beauty* and *is*. He could not oppose *man* to *nature*, as Schiller, Tiedge, and the Kantian poets did—"*vivere convenienter naturæ*" was his watch-word, and he conceived that all the distortions, excesses, and monstrosities, with which the moral world was defaced, arose from not observing and imitating Nature. At the same time, it cannot be denied that there is a sort of tendency to Epicureanism in some of his works, against which the youth of Germany and of Europe ought to be warned. It is absurd and ridiculous to torture the mind into moral systems, as Hindoo yogees do their bodies into devotional distortions—but it is irrational and unmanly to be sensual.

Article 7. To this article it is shortly answered, that Göthe would have been more than a man, had he remained altogether unaffected by the profound homage that was paid to his genius, not only by Germany but by universal Europe. We remark further, that Göthe was, in all his doings, animated by a love of order, which sometimes bordered very closely upon formality.

With these few remarks we must leave Göthe. That Menzel underrates him we hold to be quite certain; that Carlyle overrates him is equally certain; but what the true measure of his stature is may long remain a problem. We may, perhaps, have acted injudiciously in putting the question into a systematic shape, and arguing the point *pro* and *con*, in our own person; but it appeared to us the most brief and comprehensive, as well as the most impartial, mode of stating the substance of Menzel's philippic. To have calmly translated the whole oration, without one word of explanation or reply, would have gone beyond the compass of our endurance, if not contrary to our most conscientious principles. We shall, however, make amends by allowing Menzel to plead the cause of Schiller in his own words, and we know that many a warm heart will glow, and many a bright eye beam with sympathy, as the eulogy of that purest of poets flows in ready translation from our pen.

"The greatest of the poetical idealists was Schiller. He brought back the abstract ideal to the fullness of nature, as Göthe also did—but he did further, what Göthe did not do—he elevated nature up to the ideal. His heroes were, in romantic poetry, what the gods of the Greek sculpture were to the Greeks—divine men, human gods.

"Schiller has concentrated his whole poetical energies in the representation of man, and that not vulgar man, but the ideal of all grandeur and beauty of soul, the highest and most mysterious of all wonders. The external world served him only as a foil to set off, a comparison to illustrate, man. To the blind powers of nature he opposes the moral energy of man, that he may thus exhibit human nature in its highest nobility, or wrestling in triumphant strength, as in 'The Diver,' and in the 'Surety;' or, again, he introduces human sympathies with

nature, and gives a moral significancy to her blind powers, as in 'The Lament of Ceres,' 'Hero and Leander,' the 'Cranes of Ibicus,' the 'Bell,' &c. Even in his historical works, it is not his aim to set forth the epic progress of the whole, subject as that is to the necessary laws of nature; he delights in painting character, and bringing out in *alto relievo* the powerful heroes of the drama, who oppose human freedom to changeless necessity.

"The soul of all Schiller's creations is his ideal characters. He paints nothing but man, and man in his highest moral beauty and sublimity. He seems to have thought it impossible to give the name of poetry to that, which, while it imitated, did not, at the same time, idealize humanity. We do not, indeed, go so far as to assert that mere moral dignity can ever constitute true poetry. On the contrary, our earlier poets, who were all great moralists, were at the same time the greatest sinners against true poetry; and it is as difficult a thing to paint as to possess a noble soul, though nothing is more easy than the assumption of both. When ideals of moral beauty are to be represented in poetry, it is indispensable that the nature of the characters be not made to suffer under their morality. It is as erroneous to defend bad poetry by the allegation of good morality, as it is to make good poetry a veil of grace thrown over the deformities of bad morality. Most of our moral poets, however, are like the vulgar painters of the images of saints; they claim veneration for the vilest daubing, merely because the daub represents, or is intended to represent, a saint. Few of them are like Raphael, whose saints are real saints, and whose art is as holy as the subject of it. Among these few, Schiller is a chief. Even in his youthful productions, which are so often and so severely criticized as unnatural, this inward truth to nature is triumphant over all extravagance—which extravagance accordingly disappears altogether in his later works. We have some great poets, who have painted beauties, but not moral beauties; and these poets, perhaps, possessed the tact of the artist in greater perfection than Schiller, but we have no poet who so well knew how to unite poetry and virtue into one beautiful whole. We have no representation of virtue which is more poetical, no poetry which is more virtuous.

"In Schiller's ideals we find no dead mechanical law, no theory, no dry system of morality, but a living organic nature, an active life of acting men. This idealized nature is the creation of true genius, and of that alone. It is the vocation of genius to develop from its own internal depth the noblest humanity. It is genius alone that brings to full glowing bloom what in the minds of common men slumbers deep beneath the earthly covering of the soul. The true poet re-creates, as it were, the world to us by the new light which his genius sheds over it, by the new view which he enables us to take of it, by bringing that which is old to a higher development, awaking the sleeping germ to life, unfolding to us inclinations, capacities, virtues, talents, which we knew not of before—enriching, ennobling, and elevating us—in one word, by spreading the magic light of god-given thoughts upon all nature, internal and external, in us and about us, and thus raising us, and

the world along with us, to a purer and a nobler existence. A poetic nature creates by necessity its own poetical world, and the only wonder is that these poetical worlds are at once so manifold and so peculiar. Greater than the world itself are the worlds that genius creates in it. Nature, which is but one, blows out into a thousand natures, and each metamorphosis is richer, more wonderful, and more lovely, than that which went before. This regeneration is the work of genius. Every great genius is a rare species of flower, of which only one single plant exists, peculiar in its habit, in its colour, in its fragrance. The inner, spiritual and vital power of such a plant is a mystery—self-created, to be perfectly comprehended by none. Who has ever accounted for the colour and the fragrance of flowers, or been able to give a reason why it is so in one and so in another? Who has ever explained the mystery that draws us on to admire a picture of Raphael's, and who the spiritual atmosphere, the paradisaic charm, that dwells in the characters of Schiller? Here no mere definition of the understanding can avail: comparison alone may help us more closely to define the inexplicable feeling.

"Raphael's name has forced itself upon me, and it is an undeniable conclusion that, as Raphael's pictures are remarkable for the most perfect *natural* beauty, so are Schiller's poetical creations for the most perfect *moral* beauty. Moral beauty has its origin and its waxing in the history of man, and action and conflict are the conditions of its existence; the beauty of nature and of sense is, like nature itself, calm, great, unchangeable.

"According to this distinction, the ideal characters of Schiller must manifest themselves in conflict, those of Raphael in calm and sublime repose. Michael, the warlike angel, was a fit symbol of Schiller's genius; Raphael was most fitly characterized by the mild angel whose name he bore. But the same original, inexplicable charm, the same heavenly magic, the same reflex of a higher world, that lie in the countenances of Raphael, lie also in the characters of Schiller. No painter has painted the human countenance, no poet has exhibited the human soul, in equal grace and majesty of beauty. And as Raphael's genius is always like to itself, and the same mild, peace-bringing angel, in many-named apparition, still meets our eyes in the same divine beatitude and glory; so is Schiller's genius always like to itself, and we see the same warlike angel in Karl Moor, in Amelia, Ferdinand, Louisa, Marquis Posa, Max Piccolomini, Thecla, Mary Stuart, Mortimer, Joanna, and William Tell. The one rests in the consciousness of a peace that nothing can destroy, of a glory not borrowed from another; the other turns its beautiful, angelic countenance, threatening, and yet sad, against the monsters of the deep.

"The first mystery in Schiller's characters is that ANGELIC PURITY, which is ever found in the noblest natures. This nobility of innocence re-appears in all the creations of Schiller, under the same features of a pure youthful angel. In sun-belit glorification, as pure childhood, unarmed and yet invulnerable, it appears in Fridolin—like that king's

child in the ancient fairy tale, who played with lions in the forest and yet was scathless.

"When the blessed creatures of Schiller's fancy become conscious of their own bliss, then the Nemesis of the heavenly powers is aroused against them. This is the circumstance that confers an additional charm on his 'Hero and Leander.' Adorned with the helmet of war, and with the fire of noble passion reddening upon its blooming cheek, the youthful innocence of his heroes marches dauntless against the darkest powers of Hell. In 'The Diver' and in 'The Surety,' in Charles Moor, in Amelia, and in Max Piccolomini, this interesting spectacle is presented. Over these moving figures floats a magic of poesy that has never been equalled. It is the tone of a heavenly flute amid wild discordant music, the blue of ether amid a storm, a Paradise on the edge of a crater.

"This purity and innocence is equally compatible with the male as with the female characters. The Virgin of Orleans is then most a virgin when she stands forth as the consecrated amazon of God. It is the deep mystery of the Christian religion and of Christian poetry, that the salvation of the world goes forth from a woman, the highest power from the purest innocence. Joanna of Arc is the most perfect impersonation of that angel who bears the helm and waves the banner of heaven. So in Schiller's male characters. Among these, three heroes stand in holy pre-eminence; Max Piccolomini, the warrior-youth, pure and uncorrupted amid all the vices of his general's tent, and of his father's home; Marquis Posa, whose soul, though decked out with all the intellectual culture that this world can afford, is yet a pure temple of innocence; and lastly, that stalworth son of the mountain, William Tell, a finished companion, in its way, to the Virgin of Orleans.

"A second mystery of beauty in Schiller's ideal characters is their DIGNITY, their NOBILITY. His heroes and heroines never belie that pride and that lofty bearing which are the indication of a higher nature; and all their expressions bear the stamp of magnanimity and innate nobility. Every thing low is their antipodes. Powerful, free, independent, original, following only the impulse of a noble nature, Schiller's heroes tear in pieces the webs in which common men drag along their prosaic existence. It is none of the least remarkable characteristics of Schiller's poetry, that the stamp of genius which they bear, the imposing attitude which they assume, is the very same that in actual life is wont to distinguish the noble mind from the mean. The stamp of Jove is impressed upon the brow of all his heroes. In his first poems indeed this free, bold demeanour appears in a somewhat uncouth and uncivilized exterior; and, in the elegant Weimar, the poet himself was seduced to attempt to civilize his Robbers a little from their original fierceness. But what man that has eyes can fail to perceive the diamond heart of a noble nature, even through the rough crust of a Karl Moor and a Fiesco? This power of moral beauty is only made so much the stronger by the contrast.

"The third and highest secret of the beauty of Schiller's characters is the FIRE OF NOBLE PASSION. This is the fire that animates every noble heart: it is the altar-flame which ascends heavenward,—the vestal

flame fed by consecrated hands in the temple of God,—the Promethean spark brought down from heaven,—the Pentecost fire of enthusiasm, in which the souls of men are baptized: it is the phœnix fire, in which our race renews its youth eternally. Without the glow of noble passion there can be nothing great either in life or in poetry. Every man of genius bears within him this holy fire, and all the creations of genius are penetrated by it. Schiller's poetry is as strong and fiery wines. All his words are flames of the noblest feeling. Those ideals whom he has created are the genuine children of his own glowing heart, parted beams of his own fire. The honour of at once the purest and the strongest passion belongs undoubtedly to Schiller before all other poets. None with such a pure heart ever possessed so much fire; none with so much fire ever retained such purity. Thus we see the diamond, which is the purest of earthly substances, when it is inflamed, burn with a glow and a splendour in comparison of which all other fire is weak and cloudy.

"Does there exist—can we conceive, a more chaste, a more holy love, than that which Schiller has breathed into the souls of his lovers? And where again do we find a love so fiery and so powerful, invincible before a world of foes, at once stirring up the highest strength of soul, and patiently enduring the most unheard-of sacrifices? From its softest charm, from the first meeting of the eyes, from the first gentle beat of the heart, to the storm of feeling that shakes the whole being, to the awe-striking deed of virgin valour, to the sublime sacrifice of two loving souls—love here unfolds the unmeasured riches of its beauty, like a sacred music, that from the tenderest tone rises to the fullest storm of sound, but always in the purest accords.

"The glow of an enthusiastic heart in Schiller communicates its influences to all that is dear to humanity; and here his genius arms itself with the flaming sword of heaven: here begins the contest of that warlike angel with the spirits of the abyss.

"Schiller's pure soul could suffer no unrighteousness: and he steps forth, panoplied, into the lists where RIGHT is the watchword of the battle. Like an inspired prophet, he proclaims the holy love of that blessing which dwells in right, and of that curse which follows unavoidably on all injustice. And never does the glow of his feeling, or the glitter of his ornate speeches, throw a dazzling indistinctness over the truth of his piercing judgment: they only bring it forward in more striking and brilliant relief.

"FREEDOM, which is inseparable from Right, was the dearest jewel of his heart. But that lawless freedom which proceeds from, as it ends in, injustice, belongs to the order of the demoniac powers, against which he wages an unmitigated war.

"We possess no poet who has exhibited Right and Liberty with such fiery enthusiasm and with such lovely adornment of poesy; and none who has at the same time known so well how to temper his enthusiasm with moderation, and march onward in the triumphal path of truth and integrity.

"His genius belongs to mankind. Never were the rights of man

advocated from a higher point of view than by his Marquis Posa. For the rights of the people, his Virgin of Orleans enters the lists: the rights of individuals are maintained by Tell. And not only in these instances, but in all his other heroes, do we find Right and Liberty in combat with tyranny and arbitrary will; and Schiller is manifestly as much the poet of Liberty as he is of Love."

With this splendid eulogy of Schiller, we hope that we have done justice both to Menzel and to German literature. The bard of Wallenstein is evidently the *magnus Apollo* of our author; and his unqualified veneration of Schiller will, no doubt, seem to many over-critical minds as uncalled-for as his unqualified reprobation of Göthe. As to the latter, we have already spoken our sentiments; but we pity the narrow self-containedness of that man's mind who measures, by degrees of the understanding, the admiration due to such a genius as that of Schiller. We pity the icy coldness of that man's heart who can apply the thermometer of a calculating criticism to measure the glow of poetical enthusiasm.

On that mysterious question, the character of Göthe, our minds, we confess honestly, are not yet entirely made up. But on the merits of Menzel, as a literary and philosophical writer, and that of a high order, we think there can be but one opinion. We deem, too, that we have, on the present occasion, spoken a word in season, by making audible to English ears the Anti-Göthian philippics of Wolfgang Menzel. Certain it is that to the *Kotzebue-mania*, so prevalent at the end of the last century, a *Göthe-mania* has, after an interval of forty years, succeeded; the German epidemic has appeared under a new form; and though the calf that we now worship may be a *golden*, whereas the object of our former veneration was merely a *gilded*, calf,—still, if there is any truth in Menzel's views, we are worshipping an idol, and the sooner the mystical nimbus is removed from the brow of this pseudo-divinity the better. We are not, however, apprehensive that the fame of Göthe is based upon a foundation that can be shaken even by the strong arm of such a man as Menzel. We only protest against the unlimited idolatry paid to a foreign genius, whom even his most ardent admirers confess to be in many views not altogether intelligible. We fear that the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* applies here, and that there is a great deal of childish mystification and sheer fudge written and spoken about Johann Wolfgang von Göthe. However this be, the study of Menzel's writings can do no harm to our German students: if he is a hollow pretender, he will soon be exposed; if he speaks truth, he ought to be listened to. We advise the translation of some of his works, as an edifying *passer le temps*

for some of our young scholars. The "History of the Germans" were well worthy of such an honour; and surely the translator of such a work, though he might attempt less, would achieve more, than many of the monomaniacs of the age, who work as if they thought it necessary for their salvation to translate Göthe's Faust. It is time that this travestie and caricature manufactory of English Fausts should be put down as a public nuisance. We may touch upon this subject some other day: in the mean time—

> "Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
> Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere notum."

Art. II.—*Friedrich-Wilhelm I. König von Preussen.* Von Dr. Friederich Förster. (*Frederick William I. King of Prussia.* By Dr. Frederick Förster.) 3 vols. 8vo. Berlin. 1835.

The work before us will be found to fill up a chasm in the history of Prussia, which, though an object of intense curiosity and interest, in consequence of the decisive part which that kingdom has acted in the affairs of Europe, especially since the accession of its greatest sovereign, still requires to be cleared up in many important points. The intimate connection formed by repeated intermarriages between the reigning families of Prussia, Hanover, and Brunswick, and the close political alliance of Prussia and Great Britain, should render the history of the rise and progress of the Prussian power, the bulwark of the Protestant religion on the European continent, peculiarly attractive to Englishmen. But we have hitherto fixed our eyes almost exclusively on Frederick II.; yet, as it has been already shown in the review of his life by Preuss, in No. XXVIII. of this journal, even his character has been neither duly appreciated, nor, indeed, fully understood. With regard to his father, Frederick William I., we have learned (chiefly from the memoirs of his daughter the Margravine of Baireuth) many particulars of his character, his predilection for tall soldiers, his violent passions, his harsh treatment of the heir to his throne; and, on the other hand, we have heard something, but not so much, of his political sagacity, his stedfast adherence to engagements once contracted, and the general success of his enterprises. There existed not, however, even in Germany, any satisfactory account of his reign. Dr. Förster therefore judged well when he undertook the task of composing this work. Mr. Fr. Horn had already done justice to the great elector, Frederick William, who succeeded to the

government in 1640, at the age of twenty, and to his son Frederick III. The bulky work of Preuss has not indeed given us such a history of the greatest sovereign of modern times as a more judicious use of his copious materials might, we think, have enabled him to produce. Dr. Förster's work throws great light on many important parts of Prussian history, and even on that of Frederick II. himself; the author having been so fortunate as to obtain a vast mass of original documents, particularly relative to the intrigues of the imperial cabinet at the Prussian court.

It is a favourable circumstance for the historians of our days that the jealousy which formerly denied them access to original documents, which alone can enable them to give a just and impartial view of their subject, has greatly subsided, and that princes and public bodies now allow the inspection, and even the publication of private and state papers, which were never before permitted to see the light. Writers themselves too have become more sensible of the necessity of recurring to original and contemporary authorities, and have been more diligent in searching after and exploring private collections, the existence of which had been either unknown or unnoticed. Dr. Förster has been peculiarly fortunate in this respect. All the Prussian ministers, the magistrates of Berlin, the governors of the provinces, gave him all possible assistance and encouragement, and he received valuable contributions from many private collections and family archives. The most important documents, however, were obtained, not in Prussia, but in Saxony, at Meusselwitz near Altenburg, the seat of Baron von Seckendorf, where there is a prodigious collection of diplomatic papers, official reports, and letters relative to the mission of Count Seckendorf, who acted so distinguished a part at the court of Frederick William I. as ambassador from the court of Vienna. Among these papers are, the first authentic copy of the treaty of Wusterhausen (1726), of the secret treaty of Berlin (1728), and the correspondence respecting them, between Count Seckendorf, the Emperor, Count Zinzendorf, and Prince Eugene; a great number of papers of Count Seckendorf's relative to Frederick the Great, as crown prince; and the correspondence of the latter with General Grumbkow, which Preuss regrets that he could not find, but which Dr. Förster has discovered in the Seckendorf collection.

Dr. Förster has thought fit to divide his work into two distinct parts. The first volume contains every thing relative to the king personally, his character, mode of life, household arrangements, &c. The second volume presents us with the political history of the period, from the peace of Utrecht to the king's death. It

was intended to comprise the whole in two volumes, the documents being placed at the end of each; but the importance of the papers discovered in the archives of Count Seckendorf has caused a third volume to be added. We shall, for the sake of convenience, follow the author in the course he has adopted, and begin with the king's private character and habits.

Frederick William I. was the son of Frederick III. Elector of Brandenburg, who in 1701 assumed the royal dignity, with the title of Frederick I. king of Prussia. His mother was the celebrated and accomplished Sophia Charlotte, princess of Brunswick and Hanover. His father's court was one of the most splendid in Europe, the king endeavouring in every particular to imitate the court of Louis XIV. His early education was confided to Madame de Montbel, a French Protestant lady of great merit; but when he was about five years of age he was found too intractable for Madame de Montbel, and was sent to Hanover, to be brought up with the Electoral Prince, afterwards George II. king of England. The young princes, however, agreed so ill, that Frederick William was brought back to Berlin in the same year and afterwards placed under the care of Count Dohna, a man of austere manners, inflexible probity and honour, but who, having been from his youth devoted to a military life, had contracted a haughty and imperious manner, which excited the enmity of the courtiers. He was also proud of his high birth, and despised all persons of meaner origin. Having studied the character of the Electress, to whom he was entirely devoted, he was, like her, always opposed to the favourites, and ready to blame not only them but even the Elector himself, chiefly for his love of pomp and prodigality. He, undoubtedly, endeavoured early to impress on the mind of his pupil an aversion to vain show and useless expenditure; which was not difficult: for Frederick-William, even when a child, manifested no taste for the too great splendour which surrounded him. Count Dohna, on undertaking his charge, received detailed, and, on the whole, judicious instructions respecting the manner in which the education of the young prince was to be conducted.

"In his twelfth year he accompanied his mother and grandmother to Holland; and while the princesses remained at Spa and Aix-la-Chapelle, he was sent to his uncle William III. king of England, who took such a fancy to him, that he conceived the plan of getting him nominated his successor both to the throne of England and the Stadtholdership of Holland. On returning to London, the king took his nephew to Helvoetsluys, and the captain of the yacht unexpectedly coming for his majesty while at table, he took his nephew by the hand and went on board. Count Dohna, who happened to be absent at the moment, was

dreadfully alarmed on missing his pupil, and immediately followed the yacht. Going on board, he addressed the king, saying, with much agitation, 'Would your majesty wish me to lose my head, that you take away the prince, for whom I must answer with my life?' The king, offended that the Count had not rather asked leave to accompany him, said, laconically, 'If you can do better for him than I can, take him.'—Count Dohna accordingly took the prince back, and brought him to the Electress, his mother."

This anecdote appears to rest entirely on the authority of Morgenstern.

The prince accompanied his father to Königsberg, where he was crowned on the 18th of January, 1701, as Frederick I. king of Prussia. He was the first who received from the king the order of the Black Eagle, and who did homage to his father in the hall of the coronation. In all the splendid festivities on this occasion he had the precedence: yet, though only twelve years of age, he appears to have taken but little pleasure in all this profusion, in which the court aimed to rival in splendour that of France. In fact, he showed from his early youth such an inclination to frugality, that the queen was fearful it might degenerate into avarice. There is, however, a book of accounts kept by the prince of the manner in which he disposed of his pocket-money, which does not justify the apprehensions of the queen. He has headed it—"*Rechnung über meine Ducaten* (Account of my Ducats)." Every expense, however trifling, is duly entered; and it appears that his ducats were very frequently expended in the relief of the poor, and in presents to his friends; but they were chiefly laid out in disbursements for a company of cadets, which the king had formed for his practice in military exercises, and to excite in him an inclination for warlike pursuits.

Another circumstance which excited still more the apprehensions of the queen was, his violent and passionate temper; but yet proper measures were not adopted for correcting it, if we may believe Morgenstern, who affirms that Frederick-William, when speaking of his mother, used to relate various instances of his own violent conduct, when, instead of the chastisement which he merited, he received only a slight reprimand.

"The queen, finding that she could not subdue the stubborn temper of the crown-prince by persuasion or correction, thought of exciting in his heart an inclination for the fair sex; and in a letter to Baroness Pöllnitz she gives her the rather ticklish commission to tell Count Dohna 'qu'il ne s'oppose pas aux galanteries du prince-royal; l'amour polit l'esprit et amollit les mœurs. Mais qu'il dirige son gout, qu'il ne porte sur rien de bas.' His first serious attachment seems to have been to Caroline Wilhelmina Charlotte, Margravine of Anspach, who, however, gave

the preference to George-Augustus, afterwards king of England, which was perhaps the origin of the hatred that he bore through life to a rival equally dangerous in politics and love.

"In 1704, the king, yielding to the wishes of the queen, consented that the crown-prince should go to Holland, and thence to England. But, much as the queen had wished for this journey, she took leave of her son with a heavy heart; as if she had a presentiment that she should see him no more. In fact, just as he was ready to embark for England with the Duke of Marlborough, he received the melancholy intelligence that the queen had expired, on the 1st of February 1704, at Hanover, whither she had gone to visit her family. He immediately returned to Berlin, where the king was engaged in preparations for the funeral, which was celebrated with all the prodigal magnificence which his majesty was so fond of. This mournful ceremony was soon to be succeeded by one of a different kind. The king had resolved to marry the crown-prince, who was eighteen years of age, and had chosen for him Sophia-Dorothea, electoral princess of Hanover, daughter of George-Lewis, elector of Hanover, afterwards George I. of England. She is described as a princess of great beauty, virtue, and accomplishments, and was a year older than the prince. The king's proposal for the marriage having been accepted by the elector, his majesty and the prince went to Hanover, where the ceremony of the betrothal took place on the 17th of June, and the prince and princess signed the marriage contract. The king left Hanover to go to the Hague, to settle the difference respecting the succession to the property of the House of Orange; while the crown-prince joined the army under the Duke of Marlborough, who had just gained the victory of Ramilies, and was then besieging Brussels. The crown-prince was present during the siege, as well as at the siege and capture of Menin, and gained credit with the duke, as well as with the army, by his intrepid courage. At the close of the campaign, the prince returned to Berlin. Count von Finkenstern was sent to Hanover to fetch the bride, who was received in the Prussian territory with extraordinary pomp. The marriage took place at Berlin, November 28th, 1705."

Among the foreigners who visited Berlin during the marriage festivities was a Neapolitan count, who styled himself Dominico Caetano, Conde de Ruggiero.

"This man soon attracted general attention by the splendour of his equipages and the magnificent style in which he lived. Curiosity was excited to learn some particulars respecting the possessions of this opulent count, and it was soon rumoured that the source of his wealth was the art of making gold. At a time when the treasury was exhausted by the boundless and improvident profusion of the court, nothing could be more welcome than such an artist; and he was accordingly invited to court, where he was treated with great attention. After a time, he began to drop hints of his secret; and, on being urged to explain himself, at length consented to give a proof of his skill.

"The crown-prince had from the very outset declared against re-

ceiving the Italian at court, and was warmly reprimanded by the king for expressing his want of confidence in the probity of Caetano. The king therefore desired him to be present at the experiment, and to provide every thing that might be necessary for the occasion. He accordingly had every thing arranged, and procured from the master of the mint an ingot of copper a foot long and an inch thick, with a stamp on it that it might not be changed. The day having arrived, the king, the crown-prince, the treasurer, the master of the mint, and several persons of distinction, were assembled; the count came: with an air of mystery, he took from a gold box some of his *miraculous* powder, threw it into the crucible, and addressing the crown-prince requested him to stir the fire, and at last to put into the crucible the bar of copper, after he had covered the half of it with potter's clay. He took it out red hot, cooled it in a pail of water that was at hand, and, wonderful to relate, half of the ingot was converted into brilliant gold! The master of the mint assayed it, and affirmed that it was pure ducat gold. The king, delighted at this successful experiment, was going to advance a considerable sum to the artist, but the crown-prince was still incredulous, and he would not consent to allow the count anything but a dozen of French wine, and to be provided for at the royal expense for twelve days. The cunning Italian was not satisfied with this, and secretly left Berlin; but the king, who placed the greatest confidence in his skill, sent his chamberlain, Marshal von Biberstein, in quest of him; who, having found him, persuaded him to return to Berlin, where the king loaded him with favours, and granted every thing he asked, to enable him to make his experiments on a grand scale: but the time which he demanded having expired, without any appearance of the promised gold, he fled to Stettin. He was again brought back; but, after amusing the king for a time with vain promises, he again escaped, and fled to Hamburgh, where the king caused him to be apprehended, but not without some difficulty, because the burgomaster and senate protected him. Hoping still to derive some advantage from him, the king had him conveyed to Cüstrin, where he was treated like a state prisoner. He contrived, however, so to insinuate himself again into the king's favour, that he was allowed to return to Berlin. A large building was assigned to him that he might carry on his operations on an extensive scale; and considerable sums of money were advanced to him. But a strict guard was set over him, and he only obtained permission occasionally to go out of the city for the sake of the air. He at length contrived to escape with the gold which he had made out of the king's silver, but was arrested at Francfort-on-the Maine, at the instance of the Prussian Counsellor von Plothow, and conveyed under a strong escort to Cüstrin, where he was tried as an impostor, condemned to death, and hanged on the 23d of August, 1709."

We should not have related this tragical history so particularly, but that it throws great light on the character of Frederick-William, and marks the close of the age of superstition, and the dawn of a more enlightened era. Frederick I. confides in mys-

terious arts, but his son has no faith in them; nor is he disposed to owe good fortune and wealth to magic. He knew that that fortune is the most gratifying and durable which is gained by the exertions of our own energies. He too, undoubtedly, wished for gain and the increase of wealth; but he employed the ploughshare to dig for treasure, and his cane was the conjuror's wand that showed him the hidden gold:—

"Saure Wochen, heitre Feste,
Tages Arbeit, Abends Gäste,"

was his powerful spell.

In November, in the following year, (1707,) the crown-princess was delivered of a son, to the great joy of the king, which was however of but short duration, as the young prince died in the May following. The king's health rendering it advisable for him to go to Carlsbad, he left the affairs of government, during his absence, to the crown-prince, who thereby gained considerable insight into the real state of the kingdom, and became acquainted with so many abuses, that many who had hitherto enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the king, fearing the increasing influence of the crown-prince, persuaded his majesty to marry again, and he was accordingly united to the Princess Sophia Louisa of Mecklenburg. This marriage did not prove so happy as might have been wished, and to the domestic cares of the royal family was added the general distress of the country, which was visited by a contagious disease that induced the necessity of very rigorous precautions.

A visit, in July, from the kings of Denmark and Poland, who concluded a defensive alliance with Frederick against Charles XII. of Sweden, interrupted the dull uniformity which had latterly prevailed at court; and, the crown-princess having given birth to a daughter, these two sovereigns were invited to stand sponsors. The crown-prince was not present at the festivities on this occasion, having gone in April to the army in Flanders, where he was constantly with the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and conducted himself so well on many occasions, especially in the sanguinary battle of Malplaquet, where the Prussian troops had a great share in the victory, that he was most highly commended by both these great commanders. In April, 1710, Prince Eugene visited Berlin, where he was received with great honour.

The negociations respecting the succession to the property of the House of Orange, on which Frederick had a claim, after the death of William III., and which the States General would not acknowledge, induced the king to undertake a journey to the

Hague, in which the crown-prince accompanied him. They arrived there in June, 1711, and, on the melancholy death of the hereditary Prince Stadtholder, he concluded a convention with the States General, by which certain estates and revenues were secured to him, to the great satisfaction of the crown-prince, who had a strong predilection for the Netherlands, where the plain sincere manners of the people, the air of prosperity and cleanliness, and even the free constitution, much pleased him.

On his return, the king, in spite of his neutrality, found the Pomeranian frontier menaced on many sides, the Russians, Danes, and Poles, having threatened to invade Swedish Pomerania. This matter was amicably arranged. Towards the end of the year 1711, some ill-disposed persons having disturbed the good understanding between the king and the crown-prince, Count Dohna undertook to effect a reconciliation, in which he happily succeeded. The count gives in his memoir an interesting account of this affair. "The crown-prince," he says, "who tenderly loved his father, was so affected, that he would neither eat nor drink, and was rapidly falling away, and neither persuasions nor entreaties that he would not take the matter so much to heart could avail to console him. Count Dohna took an opportunity of representing to the king the injustice and malice of the enemies of the prince, and easily prevailed with his majesty, who said, 'Would to God that every one would speak to me with the same frankness! but it is the fate of princes to see truth only through the false medium of dissimulation and cabal.'" He sent for his son the same day, and was fully reconciled to him.

The evening of the old king's life was cheered by the birth of a prince, of whom the crown-princess was delivered on the 24th of January, 1712, a day which may be called ever-memorable in the annals of Prussia and of Europe, as the birth-day of Frederick the Great.

In consequence of the continuance of the war in Pomerania, by the Russians and Poles, against the Swedes, the Czar Peter the Great came to Germany and visited Berlin twice in the course of the autumn. The crown-prince was much struck with the character of the czar; his plain mode of living, his aversion to etiquette and ceremony, his predilection for the military, his preference of things of practical utility, were qualities which the prince highly prized, and in all these respects Peter was his model; and, notwithstanding the difference of age, great cordiality seems to have subsisted between them. The old king, whose health had been gradually declining, died with great composure and resignation, on the 25th of February, 1713.

"Frederick-William I. had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, when he ascended the throne of his ancestors. Endowed with a sound constitution and a vigorous mind, he thought himself entitled to claim something from the world, as he feared no claim that the world made on him. Giving to his efforts an entirely practical direction, he attempted only what he knew how to execute, and, while he confined himself to a definite and restricted sphere of activity, not a day, not an hour, was lost. The most rigid order was in his mind the fundamental principle of the state; and it is therefore necessary to view him in his family circle and court, before we follow him, as a commander, to war, or, as head of the government, to the provinces. Besides, as, in the case of an unlimited sovereign like Frederick-William, it is on the temper and character of the prince that the welfare or the misery of the state depends, since here all centres in the will of one man, which is elsewhere divided among the several authorities, as legislation, administration, &c., the biographer should first endeavour to draw a picture of this distinguished and original character.

"Frederick-William had in his whole appearance and air, something in which every subject could not but recognize his sovereign; his figure was finely proportioned, his carriage upright and military, his step firm, his action suited to the language, the command, or the momentary frame of mind, sometimes calmly imperious, sometimes lively or impassioned, seldom angry. His face, a fine oval, with a high forehead, was full and ruddy, and the serious expression of his countenance was softened by the open friendly look of his blue eyes, which, however, when his passions were excited or his wrath was kindled, flashed with appalling fierceness. Even in calm moments nobody dared to approach the king whose conscience was not clear, for his look was so piercing, that none could bear it but those who were sensible that they had a good cause, and spoke the truth. His complexion was extremely delicate, and though even when a boy he rubbed his face with oil and exposed himself to the sun, in order to become brown, he could not change his fair complexion. Eloquence and a copious flow of language was hardly to be expected of the king in those days; both in speaking and writing he expressed himself with conciseness. In ordinary conversation his voice was rather harsh and low, so that a person who heard him for the first time did not readily understand him."

It is to be observed, however, that, in the above-mentioned instructions given to Count Dohna, the necessity of accustoming the prince to deliver himself with propriety and elegance, is peculiarly dwelt on; eloquence being peculiarly becoming in a prince, who has such frequent occasions to speak in public, in the council, or in reply to addresses made to him, &c.

"The dress of the king corresponded with the simplicity of his domestic arrangements. He wore alternately a civil dress or a uniform till 1719; after which time he always appeared in the uniform of a colonel of the Potsdam grenadier guards,—blue cloth, with red facings and silver lace, buff waistcoat and breeches, white linen gaiters, with

copper buttons, and square-toed shoes. When hunting, and in wet weather, he always wore boots. All his things were made to fit very tight. His cocked hat was bound with a narrow gold lace, and had a gilt button without a loop, and a gold cord with two small tassels. When pursuing the chase at Wusterhausen or Potsdam, his general costume was a green hunting-dress and a *couteau de chasse*. 'The least expensive article of his majesty's wardrobe,' says Faszmann, was the *roquelaure* or great coat, which was made of a very coarse white or blue cloth. Nay, it almost seemed as if his majesty considered it silly and extravagant to wear a fine coat in bad weather.'

"So careful was the king of his best home suit, that, when engaged in his cabinet, he invariably put on a linen apron and half sleeves. He was the declared enemy of new fashions and showy attire. He was much vexed to observe the admiration which the laced hats and enormous bags of the French ambassador, Count von Rothenburg, and his suite, excited at court. In order to prevent the adoption of this fashion by the imitative citizens of Berlin, the king, at a grand review on Whit-Tuesday, 1719, caused all the executioners of the army, who lie under the same stigma as public flayers and executioners, to be dressed in this new French mode, exaggerating the brims of the hats to the dimensions of penthouses, and the bags to enormous sacks of hair. The king further commanded that all persons who should be declared infamous, should for the future have their queue cut off and wear the hair-bags and costume of the army executioners. In order to ridicule the magnificent embroidered dresses and large wigs of his privy-councillors and chamberlains, the king had the court-fools always similarly attired on gala days. The queen and princesses were in the same manner allowed to wear only dresses of the plainest kind: while children, the latter were clothed in home-spun serge, and never permitted to have either silk or cotton dresses. Rouge was positively prohibited. On very grand occasions, however, the king would sometimes wear a rich dress of blue velvet, lined with crimson and trimmed with silver lace. Notwithstanding this great plainness of dress, he carried his ideas of neatness to an almost painful excess. He not only washed himself regularly five times a day, but also whenever he had touched any thing that was clammy, or his hands felt heated. He enforced a spirit of Dutch cleanliness throughout the palace, and for this reason selected Dutchmen for his house-stewards. In order to prevent any accumulation of dust, silk hangings, cushioned chairs, and even carpets, were banished, and none but wooden benches and tables were seen in the royal apartments.

"The queen, the blooming mother of a growing healthy family, was a worthy partner to the king; who observed the most inviolable fidelity to his consort, and in this, as in other respects, declared open war against the prevailing French licentiousness, (which had ruined most of the German courts, especially that of his neighbour, the king of Poland, in Dresden,) by restoring the holiness of domestic life, and replacing the penates in their sanctuary, setting in his own person a bright example of morality and virtue. King Augustus having attempted, while he was on a visit at Dresden, to surprise him with a sleeping Venus, he

turned away with indignation, and declared that he would leave Dresden instantly if such scenes should be repeated. In the year 1732, as he was going to meet the Emperor, the king, passing through a village in Silesia, chatted with a lively pretty country-girl. General Grumbkow thought, as master of the household, to do him a pleasure, and offered to make proposals to the girl. But the king gave him a severe reprimand, saying he would never be unfaithful to his Sophy, as he usually called the queen. So eminent an example of inviolable respect for the sanctity of the marriage vow could not fail to have a most salutary influence, at a time of shameless licentiousness; and the manner in which contemporary writers extol it as an extraordinary phenomenon shows to what a low ebb morality had fallen."

We need hardly observe how forcibly the justice of this remark must be felt by Englishmen, who know by long and happy experience the incalculable blessings that are conferred on a nation by a virtuous court.

"The king did not allow the queen to meddle with the affairs of government, except when, during his absence from Berlin, the privy council was referred to her: otherwise he was as jealous of his unlimited authority in his house as in the state, and would not allow petticoat government in the one any more than in the other. In his father's life-time he conformed, as far as possible, to his wishes; but as soon as he was absolute master, there was nothing to prevent him from acting on the conviction that the old system of government must be wholly abandoned, and a new life begun in the house, the court, and the state. He set about this task, at the age of twenty-five, with heroic courage, and prosecuted his object with unremitting zeal. In doing this, he completely formed his character; and if we were to depict this character in one word, we would call him the *Prussian autocrat:* neither before nor after him could there be a second autocrat of this kind. From this focus a thousand rays diverged in all directions, and the royal will was felt in each of them in such a manner as proved the concentrated energy of that will. It was not the law that the people in office and the subjects—from the highest to the lowest, the nearest and the most remote—feared; it was the word, the look, of the king, before which they all trembled; and, however glad we may feel that such a state of things has long since passed away, we must confess that this trembling for fear of the sovereign was the beginning of freedom. We have observed, in another place, that the predominant feature in the character of the people, at the time that Frederick William ascended the throne, was cowardice. He found no insolent knights who declared war against him from their castles; no citizens who refused him the keys of the capital, as had happened to the first princes of the house of Hohenzollern; no upper or lower house demanded an account of the expenditure of the taxes that had been granted; and the honour of defending the country was given up by the vassals, for a reasonable indemnity, to hired mercenaries. It was time that the degenerate enervated race should be aroused by chastisement; and there is much less reason

to accuse Frederick-William of despotism, on that account, than the nation of servility; and if it has since shaken off such degrading sentiments, it is owing to the drastic remedies which he administered. Though he repeatedly acknowledged the republican constitution of the Dutch to be a model for all states, and boasted of himself 'that he was a true republican,' he was very far from allowing any check on his own power as unlimited sovereign; and though he affirmed 'that he was only the *first servant of the state*, who, as God's representative, must give an account of all his actions,' he very often set himself above state and law, and with conscientious despotism disposed of honour, life, liberty, and property. In the consciousness that he had divine authority for so doing, and in the conviction that he was executing justice and that the good of the state required it, he often (painful as it was to his heart, which was not unfeeling,) silenced the voice of humanity and clemency, aggravated the severity of the decision of the judges, and took it on his own conscience to pronounce sentence of death."

Fearful as was this despotism, it was regarded by the people in general as just, because the king invariably acted with the strictest impartiality, and suffered no superiority of rank, no intercession of favourites, to influence him where a crime had been proved; and he did not even spare his own son when he had been found guilty. Besides this, as the rigour of the king was chiefly directed against persons in office who had been unfaithful to their trust—against judges and advocates who had denied justice to the poor—against clerks who had been guilty of embezzlement—against landlords who had wronged their vassals,—he generally had the public voice in his favour. It was only when passion swayed, or the anger of a naturally violent temper was suffered to interfere, that this formidable power excited indignation and alarm.

As an instance of the severity of his justice, we may mention the execution of Mr. von Schlubluth, Councillor of War and Domains at Königsberg. The king had detected some embezzlements in the accounts of his Prussian dominions, particularly in the Lithuanian territory, for which many of the officers were called to account. Among them was Counsellor Schlubluth, who was convicted of having embezzled a large sum of money from the grant allowed for the settlement of the colony of emigrants from Salzburg. The Criminal Court at Berlin, to which the sentence had been referred, condemned him to several years imprisonment in a fortress; for although the sum embezzled was considerable—above ten thousand dollars—yet Schlubluth had given sufficient security to cover the loss. When the sentence was submitted to the king, he did not confirm it, but said that he would decide upon the spot, at his next general review in Prussia. On his arrival at Königsberg, in 1731, the king summoned

Schlubluth into his presence, represented to him his guilt, and declared that he deserved the gallows. Schlubluth, instead of throwing himself upon the king's mercy, answered haughtily, that it was not the fashion to hang a Prussian nobleman, especially as he intended to refund the deficiency. The king replied very shortly, "I will have nothing to do with your roguish money;" and ordered him to be put under strict confinement. During the night, the king had a very high gallows erected in the court-yard of the castle, opposite to the sessions house of the Chamber of War and Domains. The king in this case took upon himself to pronounce sentence on the councillor, whom he condemned to die by the hands of the common hangman. This arbitrary sentence excited the utmost sensation at Königsberg; for though the councillor was acknowledged to be guilty, yet every body was grieved and angry to see the sentence of the first criminal court in the kingdom set aside in this despotic manner. The powerful family of the criminal left no means untried to soften the heart of the king; much was hoped from the next day being Sunday, when the king attended the chapel-royal. The chaplain chose for his text, "Be merciful, and ye shall obtain mercy." This sermon was directed chiefly to the king, who could not conceal his emotion, and shed tears. The following morning, however, he summoned the members of the Chamber of War and Domains to the sessions house, and had their colleague hung before their eyes. The body was delivered up to the family, and the gallows was immediately taken down.

"The first act by which Frederick-William manifested the rigorous spirit of his domestic economy, was the diminution of the number of court attendants. The crowd of lords in waiting, chamberlains, and pages, so completely thronged the ante-chamber of the apartment in which his father had just expired, that the king had great difficulty in making his way through them, in order to receive the first homage of his brothers, who, with their children, embraced his knees. After indulging his grief for some time in his private apartment, he sent for the steward of the household, Mr. von Printzen, desiring that he would bring with him the list of the royal household. The king glanced at the paper—called for a pen, and made a cross over the whole list. He then returned it to the steward, saying that by this act he had cancelled and abolished all the court offices of his father, but that none of the household should quit the palace till after the funeral of the deceased king.

"The king retained in his service only one chamberlain, two pages, two valets, several grooms, two cooks, a steward of the household, and a butler. The establishment of the queen and princesses was in the same manner limited to one lady in waiting and a few maids of honour. He allowed the queen an annual income of 80,000 dollars, with which she had to defray not only her own private expenses, but also the charges of

the court, to provide the table and other linen, as well as clothes and linen for the king and princesses. As an extraordinary item, the king required her to furnish the powder and ball for partridge-shooting, in return for which he granted her the profits of the sale of all the feathered game that was not consumed at the royal table. Every year the king made her majesty a present of a winter dress, and generally, also, some handsome gift on Christmas Day;—for instance, in 1735 he gave her a gold hearth-broom valued at 1600 dollars. The king took much pleasure in joining family parties; he frequently attended christenings and weddings, and sometimes invited himself.

"When the king had invited himself as a guest, he had at times to pay the reckoning. One of his generals, who was noted for his parsimony, having declined the honour of a royal visit under the plea that he had no establishment of his own, his majesty desired him to order a dinner at the Hotel of the King of Portugal. This of course could not be evaded; the king was invited, but came with twice the number of attendants the general expected. The very best, however, that the cellar or kitchen could afford was produced in the greatest abundance, and the king expressed his entire satisfaction. The general sent for the landlord, and inquired the price per head. 'One florin, without the wine.' 'Well, then, here is one florin for myself and another for his majesty; the other gentlemen, whom I did not invite, will pay for themselves.' 'That is clever,' cried the king, 'I thought to take in the general, and he has taken me in'—upon which he paid the whole bill.

"The king expected every body who spoke to him to look him full in the face, for he thought that he could read in every one's eyes whether the story he told was true or not. He was therefore very angry when persons who saw him coming endeavoured to avoid him. A poor dancing-master one day tried to escape the usual compliments by scampering as fast as possible into a neighbouring house. The king perceived him, and sent one of his pages to fetch him back; and, in order to be quite sure that he was what he represented himself to be, the king obliged him on the spot to dance a sarabande. A still harder sentence was pronounced on another French dancing-master, who met the king on horseback in the public road, and set off at a gallop without paying any attention to the king's desire that he should stop. The king despatched a page after him, who at length found him secreted in a hay-loft. When brought before the king, he passed himself off as the travelling agent of a commercial house at Marseilles; but, this story having turned out to be false, the king sentenced him to cart rubbish for one month at the rebuilding of St. Peter's Church. A Jew boy, who, in order to avoid meeting him in a very narrow street, endeavoured to get away as fast as possible, was overtaken by the king. 'Why do you run away?' said he to him. 'Because I am afraid,' replied the trembling Jew. 'You should not be afraid of me, you ought to love me,' rejoined the king, at the same time letting him feel the weight of his cane.

"Persons, however, who knew how to return an answer, often made their fortune. The king one day stopped in the street a young student in theology, and finding that he was a native of Berlin, said, 'Ah, the

Berlin people are good for nothing!' 'That may be true in the main,' answered the student, 'but I know two natives of Berlin who are exceptions to this rule.' 'And who are they?' asked the king. 'Your majesty and myself,' replied the student. The king desired him to call at the palace the next day, and, having passed a very favourable examination, he was immediately appointed to a vacant living.

"When the king was prevented from riding either by the weather or by attacks of the gout, to which he had been subject since 1729, he generally drove out in an open chaise, attended by two or three officers. When, however, the weather was too unfavourable, or the attacks of the gout too painful, the king used to amuse himself after dinner with painting—an occupation which he considered as promoting digestion. Though there were several eminent painters belonging to the academy, the king generally employed one Master Hänschen Adelfing, who used to prepare his colours and paint portraits of tall grenadiers, servants and peasants. Hans was paid an annual salary of a hundred dollars, and a florin for every day on which he gave a lesson; but he received more blows than florins: for every touch of the brush in which the king did not succeed, he was sure of feeling the cane. A second assistant, the bombardier Fuhrmann, who understood something of painting, was now and then called in; but when the king wished to paint some portrait particularly well, he sent for the court-painter, Weidemann. As we may imagine, there was nothing extraordinary in any of these performances. A picture-dealer named Schütz, however, offered the king 6 louis-d'or for every picture. His majesty one day sent for him to ascertain how much he could earn by his profession, and, as it took him five days to paint a portrait, he was satisfied that he should at least be able to support himself by painting, as he calculated that he could live on a dollar a day. Some of the members of the Smoking Club having expressed their doubts as to whether his majesty could maintain himself by his painting, he sent for a well-known picture-dealer, and offered to sell him some of his pictures. As the dealer could not refuse such an offer, he agreed to take them at 100 dollars each; and accordingly displayed them in a conspicuous part of the shop with this notice:—'Painted by His Majesty!' This public exhibition was not agreeable to the king, who returned the money, and begged to have the pictures back. To this the dealer would not consent, saying that it was impossible for him to part with such valuable paintings for the very low cost price; and the king was obliged to allow him a considerable profit. One of his castellans, a Dutchman, in giving his opinion of a hunting-piece which the king had just finished, assured him it was quite in the manner of a famous Dutch painter, Bas Clas, who used, however, to distinguish each figure by a letter, and to write at the bottom—'*a* is a dog, *b* a hare—Painted by Bas Clas.' Several of his majesty's pictures have been preserved. Under some, which appear to have been done while suffering from violent attacks of the gout, he has added, in his own hand—'*In tormentis pinxit* F. W.'"

According to the usual order for the business of the day, the king went, in summer at seven o'clock and in winter at five, into

the evening company, which, under the names of the "Tabaks-collegium" and "Tabagie," has become so celebrated, that it deserves a place in the Prussian history. Our author is so diffuse on this subject, that we must content ourselves with a few extracts. Such smoking clubs had been introduced by Frederick I., but court etiquette was most scrupulously observed in them; whereas it was entirely banished from that of Frederick-William. Every evening, when he was well, and not otherwise engaged, he had a party of six or eight persons, mostly generals and staff officers; but captains who were men of information, foreign travellers, and men of learning eminent for their writings, were also invited. The old Prince of Dessau, who did not smoke, was obliged to hold an unlighted pipe in his mouth, and so was Count Seckendorf, the imperial ambassador, who, to conform to the king's regulation, puffed and blew so as to have the appearance of a capital smoker. The tobacco was not of the finest quality, and the king was displeased if any of the company brought better of his own. At seven o'clock, bread, butter and cheese were brought in, and sometimes a ham and roast veal. Now and then the king treated his guests with a dish of fish and a salad, which he dressed with his own royal hands. It is not to be imagined that the time was spent only in smoking; the king was very desirous of having some persons present who were versed in history, geography, politics, &c. French, Dutch, and German journals were on the table, which afforded subjects for discussion, and the king especially desired those articles to be pointed out to him which contained criticisms on his government, or personal attacks on himself, against which he often defended himself with much wit. The Dutch Courant, a paper much read at that time, having stated that "a serjeant of the tall grenadiers had died at Potsdam, on opening whose body there were found two capacious stomachs, but no heart," he desired the editor to be informed that the statement was correct as far as it went, but he should have added that the deceased was a Dutchman. Sometimes the king allowed chess or backgammon, but no cards. On these occasions he used to play a game with General von Flauss, a rough Pomeranian nobleman. The king once observing to him that it was not becoming that they should play for nothing, and that in future he would not play but for a penny a game, the general answered, "I shall take care to leave that alone; your majesty almost throws the dice at my head now that we play for nothing; what would you do if we played for money?"

Among the king's most indispensable companions were those called the court fools, or, by a more proper name, the court literati and merry counsellors. The king, always desirous of acquiring

information, and not to be idle in his hours of recreation, was not satisfied with the society of his old generals, who had had but a confined education; and as his privy councillors were often unable to answer his questions relative to history and statistics, he wished to have a companion who could answer such inquiries, and who, without pedantry and academic pride, would not mind a joke at the expense of his learned colleagues. Such a man was Jacob Paul Gundling, whom Frederick I. had appointed Professor to the Princely and Equestrian Academy, Member of the Heralds' College, and Historiographer. He had accompanied two young noblemen on their travels through France, Holland, and England, and it is evident that much confidence was placed in his historical knowledge from the very terms of his appointment to the Heralds' College. In fact, his historical and geographical works are very numerous, and far from being destitute of merit. The Academy and the Heralds' College having been abolished by Frederick-William on his accession, Gundling was out of employment, and chiefly to be found in the wine and beer-cellars, where he made himself conspicuous as an expounder of the newspapers, so that one tavern-keeper allowed him to drink *gratis*, for the sake of attracting company. Here he was met with by General Grumbkow, who saw at once that he was the very man the king was in search of. He accordingly recommended him, and the king really found him to answer all his purposes. He was ready and able to give the king the information he required when he was in a reasonable humour; at the same time, that his excessive vanity made him a continual subject of ridicule, while he submitted to endure the tricks which were played upon him. Our author relates many of them, which are but little to the credit of any of the parties concerned.

Next to the court etiquette, nothing seemed to the king more ridiculous than an Academy of Sciences of which he heard nothing the whole year through, except that it compiled the almanack; and which, instead of answering the only question he ever put to it—"Why champagne wine sparkled?"—only requested his majesty to send a dozen to try experiments with; which we humbly consider to be a satisfactory proof of the good sense and taste of that learned body. The king, however, to show his sentiments, appointed Gundling President of the Academy of Sciences, with a salary of 200 dollars out of the academy's funds.

The king seldom visited the theatre, which, in truth, was in a wretched state. At the beginning of his reign, he issued several severe prohibitions against players; but he indulged the citizens of Berlin, at their request. The Italian Opera and the Royal Chapel were abolished, as too expensive. Of the musicians

of the chapel he retained only Gottfried Pepusch, whom he appointed leader of the band of oboe players of the grenadier regiment in Potsdam. He was fond of Handel's music, especially the operas—the airs and chorusses of which he had performed by the wind instruments, but not sung.

On occasion of some circumstance that occurred in the king's smoking club, Pepusch took it into his head to compose a piece in six parts for six bassoons, which were called porco primo, porco secundo, and the king was much surprized at this music, had it performed several times, and always laughed heartily at it. The crown-prince came just at this time to Potsdam; and, as he disliked bass instruments, (the flute being his favourite,) and as he and his companions had a more refined taste in music, there were many jokes at his court about this piece. One day, Pepusch crossing the parade while the crown-prince was exercising his regiment, the latter called him, and said, with feigned seriousness, he had heard that he had composed a fine piece of music in six parts, and begged him to have it performed that afternoon in his apartments. Pepusch would have excused himself, saying it was a trifle, but the prince would take no denial. In the afternoon a large company was assembled at the prince's, to hear the music and to laugh at the composer. Pepusch came with six oboe players. He with great gravity spread his music on the desks, and when all six were full, he looked about the room, holding a roll of music in his hand. The prince said, "Are you looking for anything?" "There is a desk wanting." "I thought," said the prince, smiling, "there were only *six hogs* in your music." "Quite right," replied Pepusch, "but *a sucking-pig* has been added, *Flauto solo.*" Frederick told this story to Quanz, and added, "The old fellow took me in, and I was obliged to give him fair words not to produce the sucking-pig before my father."

Our author's mode of dividing his subject into chapters, unconnected with each other, one treating of the theatre, another of the smoking club, another of the hunting parties, &c. makes it difficult to give extracts in any thing like a chronological order, which would throw the clearest light on the character of the king; the many indisputably good qualities of which, were so lamentably darkened by the spirit of unrelenting despotism, both domestic and public, which he seems to have almost conscientiously adopted as a principle of action. Thus, as Dr. Förster states in his preface, the king, in a rescript of the early date of 1717, writes in half German half French, "*Ich aber stabilire die souverainté wie einen rocher von bronce*—But I establish the sovereignty like a rock of brass."

It is well known that Frederick-William was a determined

sportsman, and went regularly every year, on the 28th of August, to his favourite hunting seat, Wusterhausen, of which the Margravine of Baireuth, his daughter, gives a very uninviting description:—"At Berlin," says she, "I had to endure only the pains of purgatory, but in Wusterhausen the torments of hell."

We have heard in England complaints of the damage done by the game to the corn-fields in the neighbourhood of preserves, but can have no idea of the ravages committed by it in the Prussian dominions, in the time of Frederick-William I. This was especially the case in Pomerania and the Mark of Brandenburg, where the black game increased in such a manner, that in the year 1729 no fewer than 3600 wild boars were killed in these provinces; many of them were of enormous size, so that in the records of the hunting parties mention is often made of wild boars weighing five or six hundred pounds. Nearly four thousand of these animals being thus killed in a few weeks, it may be asked what became of them. Our author says,

"The king, who was a good manager, knew, when the pleasure was over, how to sell the produce of the chase to advantage, which was done indeed in a manner that accords but ill with our present notions of propriety and justice. 'It is the custom,' says Fassmann, 'to send the boars that have been killed to certain persons, with a note stating how much they are to pay for them; this is especially done at Berlin. First the king takes what is wanted for the use of his own domestic establishment, where a great quantity of hams and wild boars' heads, smoked, is consumed. Then his majesty makes presents of many to his cousins and other illustrious relations, also to his generals, ministers of state, &c. The remainder are sent to his majesty's privy councillors and secretaries in the several offices; also to many citizens, booksellers, merchants, innkeepers, brewers, &c. who pay, according to the size, from three to six dollars for each. It is true, they are very useful in a family. The Jews in Berlin are the worst off; for they too are compelled to take a certain number of wild boars, which they pay for immediately without making any objection, and send them to the workhouses and hospitals.'"

With respect to partridge shooting, the king killed on an average about four thousand birds every autumn, and often fired above six hundred shot in a day. As the queen had to furnish the powder for partridge shooting, the expense to her was considerable; but then she had, as has been above mentioned, the profits of the sale of all the birds not used at the royal table, and the king was so conscientious in fulfilling his contract with the queen, that, when he was confined by illness, he sent General Flauss, who was reputed to be the best marksman, to shoot partridges for him.

The eighth chapter of the first volume is entitled "Frederick-William I. as Head of a Family." This chapter is of course

almost entirely dedicated to the account of the plan laid down for the education of the crown-prince, and of the very unhappy results of the king's endeavours to model the mind of the prince according to his own notions. We are really glad that we are relieved from the very disagreeable task of discussing the topic of the differences between the king and the prince. They have been the subject of too many inquiries to leave any thing very new to be adduced. The king, no doubt, wished to make his son a model of perfection, but the means which he adopted were not suitable to the character of his son, and the mode in which he enforced his own notions and punished any opposition was wholly unjustifiable. The partial reconciliation that afterwards took place rendered the situation of the prince, during the remainder of his father's life, tolerable, and in many respects even agreeable; but the impression made on a mind like that of Frederick II. was too profound ever to be effaced. However, having married in June, 1733, the Princess Elizabeth of Brunswick Bevern, he appears to have lived happily at the newly-built palace of Rheinsberg, near Ruppin, where he remained till June, 1734, when the king, who was bound by treaty with Austria to send 10,000 men to the Rhine, thought it high time that he should see something of actual service, and sent him to serve as a volunteer under Prince Eugene. He was accompanied by Major-Generals Count Von Schulenburg and Von Kleist, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bredow. The instructions given them by his majesty, for the conduct of the crown-prince, are detailed under twenty-seven heads, and are extremely judicious and affectionate. The king himself followed in July, but, being seized with a severe illness, returned to Potsdam in September. He was considered for a time to be in great danger, but recovered and lived for some years, on the whole, upon very good terms with his son. He never recovered his former strength after this attack, and frequently endured great corporeal suffering; but he was unremitting in his attention to the affairs of government till his death, which happened on the 31st of May, 1740.

In Dr. Förster's second volume, which relates to the public affairs of the reign of Frederick-William I., he seems to have had particularly in view to show the honourable manner in which the King of Prussia, as a prince of the empire, acted towards the emperor, and the duplicity and want of faith with which the imperial court treated him in return, of which he adduces irrefragable proofs from the papers of Count Seckendorf. The differences with the court of England form likewise a prominent feature, as well as the enmity between him and George II. Perhaps we

cannot do better than quote some passages from the author's preface to this second volume.

"As soon as the electorate of Brandenburg took on itself the protectorate of the Protestant religion, and placed itself at the head of the reform in the church, state and learning in Germany, a violent collision between the Crown of Prussia and the Holy Roman empire and the imperial house, was unavoidable. It is therefore not without reason that the seven years' war has been called a continuation of the thirty years' war; for Frederick fought at Prague and Leuthen, as Gustavus Adolphus did at Leipzig and Lützen, for freedom and the Gospel. This is the honour and the glory of the great king, and at the same time the legacy which he has bequeathed to us; and if his enemies now even accuse him, and say that he violated the respect due to the imperial house, that he put an end to the Holy Roman empire, that he carried his victorious arms into Silesia, he has long since recorded his justification in indelible characters, with his sword and his pen, in the field of battle and in the pages of history. But, if King Frederick has his justification in the results that *followed* his actions, we believe that we produce no less valid arguments in his favour by publishing the motives which *preceded* them, and in this view, the life of Frederick-William I., as we have been enabled to write it, may essentially contribute to justify Frederick the Second's unexpected and unexplained attack on Austria, and the war which was the business of his life.

"With the most honourable sentiments and the devotedness of a vassal, Frederick-William I. attached himself to Charles VI., in whom he honoured the head of the German empire. No personal sacrifice, no kind of service, was too great for him, when he might hope thereby to gain the good-will of the emperor; and he sought no higher honour than that of proving himself worthy of the name of a prince and elector of the German empire. He secures to the House of Austria the succession in the female line, to the emperor's son-in-law the imperial crown, saves Charles VI. from the ruin which England prepares for him, and appears in arms for him as soon as the French, ever ready for war, show themselves on the Rhine. And how does the emperor reward such fidelity and attachment? He separates him by empty promises from his allies; makes him assurances respecting the acquisition of Juliers and Berg, and at the same time concludes treaties by which he betrays the king, who is so truly devoted to him. But, to keep him in constant delusion and dependence, a complete system of bribery is introduced at the court of Berlin; from the prime minister and influential favourite down to the valet de chambre, a great number of persons were taken into the pay of Austria. Even Gundling was thought sufficiently important to be attached by favours. The most detestable circumstance was, the extension of this system of bribery to the crown-prince himself. First he is surrounded with spies; every word that he speaks or writes becomes known to the court of Vienna; and, as soon as they are satisfied that *this young gentleman*, as Prince Eugene writes to Count Seckendorf, *may in time become a dangerous neighbour*, every means is employed to gain him. They even go so far as to expect the crown-

prince of Prussia, for an imperial pension of 3000 ducats per annum, to intrigue against the king his father in the conferences of the cabinet ministry. The marriage of Frederick with a niece of the empress is resolved on, negociated, and concluded in Vienna, as a ransom from his imprisonment at Cüstrin; his bleeding heart is demanded, and he must give it. The base intrigues practised on this occasion necessarily came to his knowledge, and this alone would have been ground sufficient for a seven years' war.

"The documents affording this important information are almost entirely from the archives of Count Seckendorf, the use of which the present proprietor has most liberally allowed me."

We shall show how Dr. Förster has supported these charges against the court of Austria, by the production of the original documents, premising that Count Seckendorf was on intimate terms with the king as early at least as 1715, when he was with the combined army of Prussians, Saxons and Danes, at the siege of Stralsund, as lieutenant-general in the Saxon army, and highly distinguished himself. From that time the king frequently corresponded with him, and thus we have a clue to his influence at the court of Berlin, which he visited several times before he was appointed ambassador from Vienna. Both Pöllnitz and the Margravine of Baireuth are very inaccurate in their accounts, and it is remarkable that the former, who as chamberlain should have been better informed, says that Seckendorf came to Berlin for the first time in 1726, being commissioned by the emperor to detach the king from the Hanoverian alliance.

With respect to the close connection between Frederick-William and the court of Vienna, it is matter of history, and has no need of proof. The celebrated treaty between Austria and Spain, concluded at Vienna on the 30th of April, 1725, could not be kept so secret but that sufficient transpired to excite apprehensions in France and England, who soon agreed to form a new alliance to counteract that of Vienna. George I. came to Hanover, where the negociations were opened; and Frederick-William, paying a visit to his father-in-law, was prevailed upon to join in this treaty, which was signed at Herrenhausen, September 3, 1725.

"Before the alliance was concluded, the cabinet of Vienna had notice of what was going on at Hanover. Prince Eugene states this to Count Seckendorf, in a letter of August 8, 1725, and informs him, on the 29th of September, that the King of Prussia had joined the alliance. He commissions Seckendorf to go to Hanover, to endeavour to find out what the nature of this alliance might be. Under the pretext of making interest to obtain the post of Master-General of the Ordnance of the Empire, he accordingly goes to Hanover, and contrives to fish out what had been done. On his report, he receives orders from the emperor to

to go to Berlin, 'to work on the king to lead him to entertain better thoughts, which of course must be done in a natural and unaffected manner.' On this visit Seckendorf so far attained his object, that the king told him plainly that he had been deceived at Hanover by false insinuations. 'He had been made to believe that 20,000 Imperial and 40,000 Russian troops were on their march, and therefore that he ought immediately to take possession of Silesia.' Seckendorf accompanied the king on his tour in Pomerania, who repeated to him, 'that he had been hurried into the alliance at Herrenhausen; but, when he saw that his allies meant to use him as a cat's-paw to get the chestnuts out of the fire, he had declared to Count Rothenburg, the French ambassador, that he would never suffer himself to be employed to attack and overthrow the emperor. Once for all, he declared that, if the emperor did not attack him, did not support the Pretender, nor disturb the King of England's German territories, he would never allow a French soldier to cross the Rhine.' He told Seckendorf that his ministers, Ilgen and Knyphausen, were good friends to England! but they both excused themselves to Seckendorf, and Ilgen said—'A servant must always bear the blame when his master has acted unadvisedly and repented of it;' and Knyphausen observed, that 'family projects respecting the alliance had caused some precipitation in the conclusion of the treaties.' On learning that the king was so well disposed, the emperor gives to Count Seckendorf, through Prince Eugene, very positive directions with respect to a closer connection between the House of Austria and the Crown of Prussia. 'If,' says Prince Eugene, (15th June, 1726,) 'the king is really serious in desiring to conclude a treaty for the common interest of the two houses, your excellency may assure him that full power will be given to you.' But the great difficulty was, that the king had positively declared that the reversion of the Duchies of Juliers and Berg must be guaranteed to him by the emperor; and Ilgen observed, that as England and France had offered to guarantee this reversion to his majesty, this would be the first condition of a treaty with the emperor. In order to obtain some further insight into the family affairs of the royal house, especially the proposed marriages of Frederick Prince of Wales with a daughter of the King of Prussia, and of Frederick Crown Prince of Prussia with the Princess Amelia, daughter of George II., Count Seckendorf applied to Grumbkow, with whom he had been intimate during the wars in Flanders, and who from this time acted the base part of a traitor to his king and country, in the pay of the Austrian court, who appears the more infamous in proportion as he was high in the confidence of his sovereign."

The correspondence of Count Seckendorf with the Prince Eugene, and the other documents relative to this negociation, are very curious. The king insists, on all occasions, on the reversion of Juliers and Berg, as the *sine qua non*, and the Austrian court is very unwilling positively to undertake to guarantee the reversion to Prussia; but as the king persists, Seckendorf is directed to assure him of the sincere desire of the emperor to do every thing

to satisfy him. But while this was going on, the cabinet of Vienna induced the Elector Palatine to accede to the treaty concluded with Spain, 30th April, 1725; and the emperor went so far, in a treaty concluded with the Elector Palatine on the 16th August, 1726, as solemnly to pledge himself to guarantee to the house of Sulzbach the reversion of Juliers and Berg. The correspondence and negociations with Prussia, however, continued, and ended in the treaty of Wusterhausen, 12th October, 1726. By this treaty, now for the first time published in an authentic shape, the emperor engages, from affection and love for the King of Prussia, to do his utmost to insure to him the succession to Juliers and Berg, and to induce the house of Sulzbach to assent to this convention.

"In order to account for this duplicity of the Austrian cabinet, and to explain the principles on which it acted in this affair, it will be necessary to go back a hundred years. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, on the failure of the male line of the ducal house of Juliers and Cleves, the Elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, claimed those territories according to the legal succession recognised by the emperor and empire; but Austria exerted itself to the utmost to exclude Brandenburg from the succession. In the secret archives at Vienna are deposited the opinions given on this subject, in 1609, by the imperial vice-chancellor, Lippold van Strahlendorf, and the vice-chancellor of the empire, Lewin von Ulm; and we may give the privy councillors and confessors of Charles VI. credit for sufficient judgment and memory to take a convenient opportunity to remind the emperor of those ancient observations, now that Brandenberg was again making such a serious effort to obtain its right. The imperial vice-chancellor, in his written opinion, says—'We, unhappily, know how, by the heresy of Luther, a great rent has been made in the holy Roman empire of the German nation, and not only some states, but all the three temporal electors, and a very great number of others, are infected by it; and matters have come to such a pass, that it has not been possible, without causing extreme confusion, to avoid making to them many dangerous concessions; and doubtless it would have been worse still, had it not pleased the Almighty to give to the illustrious house of Austria strength and power to keep in awe its greatest enemies. Yet some of the electoral and princely houses alluded to have become very considerable, but have never been able to attain to such a degree of power that the Catholic states, and especially the house of Austria, had any reason to be alarmed, or to feel any apprehensions on that account.

"'The heretics themselves have been fully aware of this, and have always wished and endeavoured to put forward some one of their own body, who should be able to keep the Catholics in awe, and oppose the house of Austria; but they have hitherto seen that this was rather to be wished than hoped for. At first, indeed, they had great reliance on Henry IV., King of France, but soon found how easily foreigners may be deceived by foreigners. The heretics then turned their eyes to the

House of Saxony, but were soon obliged to give up the notion of raising that house, because Saxony and Meissen, though very fine countries, are not able to furnish a strong cavalry force, have no coasts to enable them to do any thing by sea, and must always be in fear of Austria and Bohemia. Nevertheless, the apostates, having once got these notions into their heads, have never given them up; and it almost seems, now that so unexpected and sudden a change has taken place in the Electoral House of Brandenburg, as if the Lutherans were likely to gain more than they could before hope. To see this more clearly, we have only to look into past events.' Here the chancellor gives a view of the small beginnings and progressive aggrandizement of the Mark of Brandenburg and the Princes of the House of Hohenzollern, observes that 'Prussia can bring into the field 6000 cavalry and 11,000 infantry, might fit out a fleet at Königsberg, and that the Electors of Brandenburg had contrived with much cunning to combine the Elbe, the Oder, the Spree, and the Havel, so that the Baltic and the North Sea were connected together. As they had joined Prussia with the Mark, they now wanted to lay hold of the rich and well-fortified countries on the Rhine, the Maese and the Ruhr. Now,' he continues, as 'Juliers and its dependencies, without the Mark and Prussia, have each of itself the power of a kingdom, 'it is well to be considered that these countries are very powerful, and if they should remain together, *the Elector of Brandenburg might become the chief whom the Lutheran and Calvinist vermin have so long wished for and expected.*'"

After some further observations on the dangerous increase of the power and influence of the Electors of Brandenburg, the writer continues,

"'It cannot therefore be doubted that, by the increase of the power of Brandenburg, the heretics are encouraged to form a closer union with it, in order thereby to kindle a greater fire. But it is especially in the west that the danger is beyond measure great; because Juliers, Berg, and Cleves border on the Netherlands. If the Dutch rebels should have access to those countries, and be able to make use of their navigable rivers, it may come to pass that the Rhine, the Maese, and the Ruhr may be closed, the House of Austria thereby alarmed, *Belgium, already restless,* be induced, nay, compelled to revolt, while France might become a hired servant, and England and Switzerland find their advantage. But England and Denmark are firm friends to the Electoral House of Brandenburg, the Swiss are at its command, the Hanse towns are especially attached to it, and cannot do without it. *Thus all the heretical vermin, in and out of the empire, are devoted to that house, upon which all the hope and consolation of the apostates now rest.* Nevertheless, it does not appear how the matter is to be remedied, for the right of Brandenburg to the succession to Juliers is so strong that no title can exist or be devised, no pretext discovered or invented, nay, hardly any means be proposed, by which Brandenburg can be excluded. However, there are, God be praised, still means to check the fire in some degree, if not wholly to extinguish it.'"

The learned vice-chancellor then proposes various Macchiavelistic stratagems, by which the prosperity of the Electoral House may be nipped in the bud, and, in the first place, the Duchy of Juliers be prevented from falling into its hands.

'"To this end,' says the chancellor, 'it might not be amiss if Austria supported the old claims of the House of Saxony to the reversion of Juliers. That house, indeed, is fully informed, and is itself conscious that its claims are unfounded; but all good fortune has its enviers, and many a one would lose an eye that his neighbour might lose both. Thus the increasing power of Brandenburg is not only suspicious to Saxony, on account of its proximity, but an eye-sore to it; for, whereas no house in Germany has stood higher, next to Austria, than Saxony, it would under such circumstances decline, and see another enjoy the honour that was possessed by its ancestors. Saxony might, therefore, not be so much in earnest to obtain Juliers as to prevent Brandenburg from getting it. Only it may be necessary not merely to cherish this ill will, but to urge Saxony on; if they once come to discussions, disputations, arrangements, and the like, very great advantage might accrue to the Catholic Church and the House of Austria, if due diligence were used to turn this state of things to account.' He then advises to send a special imperial commissioner, under the pretext of instituting an impartial inquiry. 'Now it might be conjectured that, if both parties would be persuaded, Saxony could not possibly hesitate; but Brandenburg might not immediately perceive the snare spread for it, and, trusting to its just rights, run into the net. His imperial majesty must not omit at the beginning to try amicable means, earnestly to exhort both parties to peace, but in the mean time secretly to undermine them both, so that the imperial court may get possession of the country by an exchange, and make an amicable arrangement with all parties.' He proposes to give to Brandenburg Lower Lusatia, to Saxony Upper Lusatia, and to Pfalz-Neuburg some portions of Silesia. 'If, contrary to expectation, one party should not approve of this mode of settling the matter, it would be quite free to have recourse to legal measures; the two parties might then quarrel and go to law with each other as long as they liked, provided only that his imperial majesty held the sequestration in his hands. While this was doing, there would be no reason to fear any of their intrigues, and the day of judgment would come before the affair would be settled. But, if they insisted on having the matter determined at once, the attorney to the Treasury must act against them both, and by his proceedings come to the conclusion, which has already been hinted at, namely, that Brandenburg, having been under the ban of the empire (for getting possession of the domains of the Teutonic Order,) is disqualified, and that Saxony has not certified its right, and has forfeited its claim by prescription; so that the countries in dispute have reverted to the empire. With this sentence they might go about their business, and joy go with them. But if the claimants would not go to law, but chose to fall together by the ears, we should only have to let them alone. Then the Catholics, sitting still, might avert all danger from themselves, and laugh to see Lutheranism, after soaring on ambitious wings into the

air, wilfully cast itself down. This would also serve to keep France, England, Switzerland, the Hanse towns, and Denmark neutral; for all these are, on the one hand, equally in need of both parties, equally bound to both, and in many ways allied to both; on the other hand, the intrigues and instigations to rebellion would cease, as the Catholic princes, sitting still, would incur no suspicion, and *the heretics would be excited against each other.* Some assistance must, however, be given now and then, secretly, to Saxony, that it may be able to counterbalance the other party, and so one wolf gradually devour the other, and that they may exhaust themselves and their adherents, so that they may afterwards be easily subdued and got rid of, and at the least no more to be feared. Meantime the territory of Juliers might be quietly secured, and the heretics put down to all eternity.'

"Such was the light in which Austria viewed the first steps of the House of Brandenburg to obtain the duchies on the Rhine, and it is very evident that it remained faithful to the same principles in the time of Frederick-William I., when the danger was so much greater."

We have gone rather more at length into this subject than we intended, because the author lays much stress upon it, and the documents which he has brought to light prove the duplicity with which the cabinet of Vienna treated the King of Prussia, and which could not fail to inspire his successor, who must have been aware of it, with feelings of contempt and distrust towards the House of Austria.

Faithfully devoted to the House of Austria, Count Seckendorf was not content with keeping the reigning king of Prussia stedfast in his attachment to that power; extending his views to the future, he endeavoured, by all the means at his disposal, to serve the crown-prince. After the failure of the prince's attempt at flight, he contrived, by a show of the extraordinary interest felt by the imperial court, not only to acquire an ascendant over the king, but to make himself indispensable to the prince as a friend and protector. He found means, through Grumbkow, to obtain information of every thing that the prince did, thought, or wished, while in confinement; and copies of all the reports made to the king respecting the prince, (all these reports are here published,) and even the confidential letters of the prince to Grumbkow and his answers, are found among the Seckendorf papers. It was, therefore, easy for Seckendorf to play his cards so as to gain his end. The allowance made to the prince by the king being really too small, and the prince himself not a good manager, he was always in want of money; and, as the king had strictly prohibited all persons from lending him any, under severe penalties, nothing could be more welcome than Count Seckendorf's sending him, unasked, considerable sums as soon as he was liberated from his arrest in Cüstrin, and in the sequel constantly supplying him

with money when he wanted it. The correspondence between the crown-prince and the count, (so far as it has been found), turns almost entirely on money matters. In this very delicate business, the greatest caution was used. The first mention of it is in a letter from Prince Eugene to Count Seckendorf, dated 29 January, 1732, in which he says that the emperor has allotted a sum of 2000 or 2500 ducats, which he is to employ at his discretion, either to pay for tall recruits (by producing such, the prince pleased the king), or to assist the prince in some other way, taking care, however, to manage so that the king might conceive no suspicion of the prince's receiving money from Vienna, or any other quarter, which would enrage the king against his son, and against the emperor himself. It appears from Seckendorf's correspondence with Prince Eugene and with the crown-prince, that he conducted the affair with the greatest discretion, so that no suspicion was entertained. We really regret to see so great a man as Prince Eugene engaged in these base intrigues, one grand object of which was to prevent England and Prussia from being too closely connected by the proposed marriage of Frederick, Prince of Wales, to a Prussian princess, (the Margravine of Baireuth,) and of the Crown-Prince of Prussia to the Princess Amelia. The various recommendations of Count Seckendorf as to the persons whom it would be proper to bribe are not a little curious. At the beginning of 1734, he writes,—

"For the Crown-Prince Frederick, 3210 ducats was paid me by Messrs. Palm, in April, 1733. The prince has represented to me personally, as well as through Grumbkow, his pecuniary difficulties, and desired some assistance, but, as he has for some time past conducted himself in a manner by no means worthy of the emperor's favour, I have suffered him to want, and get into the greatest distress before I assisted him. It depends on his imperial majesty whether he will continue the pension of 3000 ducats for this year. I have given no positive promise; but, as the *pecuniary embarrassments* of the crown-prince are very urgent, and he is henceforth to be present at all the *conferences*, I would humbly advise that it should be tried another year. The Princess of Baireuth has received 1000 ducats for 1733, and as the crown-prince, her brother, pays more deference to her than to any other person in the world, if there is a possibility of inspiring him with other principles, it must be through her. His imperial majesty will decide whether she shall have 1000 ducats for the year 1734. He more especially recommends the continuation of the pension of 1000 ducats to Grumbkow. If any body in the world deserves to be favoured it is this man. Count Manteuffel, the Saxon minister, received 6000 florins per annum, which, says the count, he amply deserves for his diligence, zeal, and valuable private correspondence. The following is

An Extract of the Account of Secret Expenses partly remaining to be paid for 1733, partly to be provided for 1734.

To the Crown-Prince	3000	ducats.
To the Hereditary Princess of Baireuth	1000	
To Grumbkow	1000	
To Eversman (the king's Castellan at Potsdam)	100	
To Count Manteuffel	6000	florins.
To Reichenbach (Prussian Minister in London)	900	
To the Irishman Murnay in Potsdam	60	
To Duhan (*for two years*)	1200	

Duhan, formerly preceptor to the crown-prince, was disgraced and banished to Memel, on occasion of the prince's intended flight; he was a great favourite with him, as appears from a letter to Seckendorf, in which he expresses his obligations to the emperor for having done something for him. The pension was given him in the hope that, when the crown-prince became king, Duhan would show his gratitude as in duty bound.

Among the remarkable documents brought to light by Dr. Förster, there is one of vast importance and extent, and so honourable to Frederick-William I. that it deserves especial mention. On his accession, he found the finances in particular, and the administration of the domains, in the most wretched condition, which, as has been observed, he partly remedied by a great reduction of the expenditure of his court and by a general system of economy. The evil was, however, too deeply rooted to be at once cured, and the king required time to make himself acquainted with every thing bearing on the subject. It was, therefore, not till he had been ten years on the throne that he ventured to introduce the projected reform. Instead of two distinct boards, one called the Commissariat of the War Department, the other, the Board of Domains, he established in 1722 a general supreme board of finance, war, and domains, for whose guidance he drew up the instructions which have been often alluded to by the Prussian historians, but which were unknown to them, and are here published for the first time. These instructions, to which the king himself gives the title of *Constitution* (Verfassungs-Urkunde), are drawn up in thirty-five articles or chapters, most of which are subdivided into several sections, the whole occupying nearly one hundred pages of the volume. This remarkable fundamental law, the greater part of which is in the king's own handwriting, entitles him to the gratitude of his countrymen, as laying the foundation for a new and consistent system of administration. Having made so good a beginning, the king introduced in the sequel still further improvements in the internal administration of the kingdom. Thus, notwithstanding his des-

potic character, he relaxed in this respect towards the end of his reign, when the people had improved in civilization and knowledge. In 1738, he issued the ordnance called Prügelmandat, in which it is stated that "His majesty has heard with great displeasure, and has himself seen, that the farmers and their clerks use whips and sticks to compel the peasants to work when they have to perform feudal services; but as his majesty is absolutely resolved that such a barbarous mode of scandalously driving the subjects with whips and sticks, like brute beasts, shall no longer be tolerated, it is hereby ordered," &c. &c. Very severe penalties are denounced against the farmers (of the domains) who transgress. A kind of proclamation was ordered to be posted up in the public houses, and read to the peasants, in which they were to be reminded and exhorted to perform all due services willingly, faithfully, and diligently, otherwise to expect due punishment; but it is added, "that they shall not suffer themselves to be treated like slaves with whips and blows, but immediately complain to the magistrate when any such treatment is inflicted on them."

We have already exceeded the intended limits of our article; and must conclude as briefly as possible. As the work occupies nearly 1600 very closely printed pages, it may be readily believed that we have been obliged to leave many interesting matters wholly untouched; but we hope that we have sufficiently shown the value of Dr. Förster's researches, for the additional light they throw on the characters both of Frederick-William I. and his son Frederick II. With respect to the former, it must be regretted, that, with so many good moral qualities and great capacity for government, his violent passions, and the deeply-rooted principles of despotism, should have rendered him a terror to his subjects, and exposed him to the severe, but just, animadversions of posterity. With respect to his conduct to his son, harsh and even cruel as it was, it seems to have been, on the whole, sincerely designed to effect a change in the prince's character and conduct, which, from the extensive correspondence now for the first time published, appears to have been much needed. Whether the means were well chosen is another question. We rather think not; they were perhaps calculated to produce hypocritical submission rather than real reformation. That they had some good effect is evident. Mr. Wolden, who was one of those appointed to form his household, when he was released from his strict imprisonment at Cüstrin, and allowed to lodge in the town, says in a letter to Grumbkow of 2d October, 1731, "I can say that the abode in Cüstrin has done him no harm; for, besides that adversity has formed his heart and his mind, he begins to have just notions of many things, of which he was before wholly

ignorant. Heaven grant that his majesty may live a few years, that the prince may become mature, and then *I predict that he will be one of the greatest princes that the House of Brandenburg has ever produced.*" The king himself seems to have had a similar presentiment, when, on the 2d of May, 1736, his conversation turning on the conduct of the imperial court to him, he spoke, pointing to the crown-prince, these memorable words "*Here is one that will revenge me!*"

ART. III.—*A Dictionary in Sanscrit and English, translated, amended and enlarged from an Original Compilation prepared by Learned Natives for the College of Fort William.* By H. H. Wilson. The Second Edition, greatly extended, and published under the sanction of the General Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal, Calcutta. 1832. 4to. pp. 982.

IF, when Johnson was projecting his celebrated Dictionary of the English Language, it had been prophesied to him that in 1819 posterity were to possess a Lexicon of the learned language of India, a language of which, it may almost be doubted, whether he knew much more than the name, and that this work should be little inferior in magnitude and completeness to his own, he would, in all probability, have treated the prediction as the dream of an idle visionary, to be ranked only with the projector of the art of flying, in Rasselas; yet is this undertaking accomplished, and it is of this that we propose to give as ample a sketch as the narrow limits of a Review will admit of.

However just may be our admiration of the vast progress which civilized man has lately made in the physical sciences, and of the astonishing extent of the empire which we have thereby obtained over nature, we certainly think that an almost equal portion of admiration is due to the vast accessions that have been made to our knowledge of literature, and of the productions of the human mind, in various ages and nations. So lately as the time of Johnson, the whole extent of philological learning seems to have been comprized in Greek and Latin, a few of the modern dialects of Europe, Hebrew and Arabic, and some of the ancient northern tongues. Since then, what a vast store has been opened to us! Even in Europe we have discovered innumerable varieties of the Celtic, Gothic, Teutonic, and Sclavonic—all highly interesting, but whose existence before had been scarcely suspected. But, if we extend our views beyond Europe, the prospect appears almost interminable. The endless list of the dialects of India proper, with Sanscrit at their head, those of Ceylon, of Burma, of Nepaul, of the Eastern Archipelago, and beyond these, the

hitherto inaccessible languages of China and Japan, are all laid open to our view; nay, those of Australia, and the wandering tribes of Africa and America, begin to form objects of interest and inquiry. In a few years more there probably will not be a single dialect in use among mankind, however obscure and apparently insignificant, that will not have had its grammarian and lexicographer.

The object of grammatical science is to determine the means by which mankind are able to carry on trains of thought in their own minds, and to communicate them to others—an object certainly as interesting and worthy of research as any that can be propounded for human consideration. In this point of view, Grammar may be regarded strictly as a science of induction. In order to determine how mankind may carry on or communicate their thoughts, we must inquire how they have been able actually to do so; and this immediately leads to the study, not of a few favoured languages, whose literature may be particularly rich, but of every language, and of every variation of every language, that is or ever has been.

As all animals agree in the possession of vitality, so, if any organ essential to one class be not found in another, we may safely conclude that its non-existence is made up by something else, to be pointed out by the physiologist; and, in the same manner, as all languages agree in being capable of communicating human ideas, while yet the structure of all is different, it follows that, if any part of one be wanting in another, the want must be compensated somehow or other. It is the business of the grammarian to determine how this compensation is actually effected. In some cases this is easy, in others, so difficult as to require the profoundest sagacity. To explain by a few examples—the complicated inflexions of Latin nouns and verbs are well known to be compensated, in modern languages, by the use of prepositions and auxiliaries. Again, Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and German, have three genders; Arabic, Hebrew, Hindostanee, French, Italian, &c. only two; Persian, English (generally), and Bengalee, only one. Yet these last languages, with their single gender, are as intelligible as the first class with their three, or the second with their two. Now, unless it can be shown that the double or triple gender is superfluous (which we doubt if any grammarian would undertake to do,) it follows, that the want of it must be compensated by some equivalent contrivance; and the question for the grammarian is, to determine what that contrivance actually is. Again, Sanscrit, the Classical languages, German, and even English, abound in compound words; Hebrew, Arabic, and the rest of the Shemitic languages, French, Italian, &c. have none at all. How is the want compensated? Again, those adjectives

which express the qualities of natural and sensitive beings are, in the European languages, applied metaphorically to those that are not so. We can say, for example, a clever man, and a clever book. In the Asiatic languages this is totally forbidden; the literal translation of clever book into Persian would be absolute nonsense. How then are the ideas expressed? All these are the problems which the science of universal grammar proposes, and all of which must be solved to render it perfect. In fact, grammatical science may be considered as still in its infancy. Before our knowledge of the Oriental languages, and while all our learning was confined to those of European structure, our ideas were necessarily narrow, crude, imperfect, and cramped by those prejudices which led us to consider the principles of the classical languages as the natural principles of speech. Our acquaintance with the Eastern tongues has given a new impulse to the science, and tended wonderfully to correct and enlarge our ideas respecting it; but the prospect which it has opened is so immense, that we have as yet been able to do little more than to cast a hasty glance at some of the more prominent parts. It will require indefinite periods of literary labour to comprehend the whole.

The two great instruments for obtaining a knowledge of an unknown tongue are a dictionary and a grammar; the first to explain the meaning of each word singly, the second to unfold the laws by which they are combined, so as form intelligible sentences. And there are few parts of the history of literature that would be more interesting than a history of grammars and dictionaries, beginning with the remains which have descended to us from the ancient world; comparing these with the works of the Eastern nations, the Arabs, the Hindoos, and the Chinese, and with the early attempts at lexicography in Europe; and from these imperfect attempts coming down to the more finished productions of modern times. Were such an undertaking as this accomplished, it would form a most valuable index to the state of general knowledge among those nations to which it referred through the successive periods of their literary history, but really to accomplish it would require research, judgment, and genius, of no ordinary kind.

There are, indeed, few literary undertakings which have been so unjustly appreciated as that of a Lexicographer. The compilers of dictionaries were long considered as standing in the very lowest ranks of learning, and the name was a sort of by-word to express a mere drudge of literature, destitute himself of taste or talents, and appointed to no higher employment than that of ministering by his dull industry to the wants of genius of a superior order. We believe, however, that of late years the difficul-

ties of this task have been better understood. The person who appears to have chiefly contributed to this change of opinion, at least in our country, was Horne Tooke, who, by the industry of his researches, the sagacity of his inferences, and the novelty and ingenuity of his speculations, together with the very entertaining forms in which he contrived to present them to the public, succeeded in investing etymology, and even the abstruser parts of grammatical science, with a degree of popularity which they had never enjoyed before; and who, by pointing out many of the principles on which scientific dictionaries must be compiled, taught the public to estimate more justly the merits of the author.

To ascertain and accurately to define the precise meaning of words has been admitted, by all who have tried it, to be a task demanding the utmost stretch of sagacity; yet this is what the lexicographer is called upon to do, not only in his own but in a foreign language, and, after he has accurately so ascertained the meaning, he has then to find for the words of one language in all their various significations, as they alter by construction, by metaphor, or by allusion, equivalent words in the other; and, in those cases, by far the most numerous, in which this is impossible, he has to discover such metaphors and periphrases as will approach most nearly to the meaning required, and this not in a few insulated instances, but throughout the whole extent of the language. All this, even in the languages with which we are most familiar, constitutes a task requiring such extent of knowledge and sagacity, that the utmost that can be said of the greatest geniuses who have attempted it, is, that they have not failed. What shall we say then of a dictionary of the Sanscrit language, a language of the most unbounded extent, belonging to a people whose manners and notions are totally at variance with ours; a language which may be said to have been discovered within the last century only, and into the portal of whose literature we have scarcely yet entered! Such is the task which Mr. Wilson has undertaken, and of which we are endeavouring to lay some account before our readers. To judge of the mode in which he has executed it, we must consider, first, the nature of dictionaries in general; next, the sources from which they are to be compiled; and lastly, notice some peculiarities in the structure of the Sanscrit language, which necessarily affect the arrangement of its vocables.

As a preliminary step, however, it is requisite to pay some attention to the nature of Sanscrit learning. Respecting this, two very different opinions have divided the literary world, and in all probability will long continue to do so. The first disco-

verers of Sanscrit, struck, as it would appear, by the new and unexpected pictures which it presented of civilized manners, opinions, and human nature, were led to exaggerate its importance beyond all reasonable bounds, and to exalt the merits of its literature to the level of those of the literature of the West. While the study was yet a novelty, and before European scholars had had time to examine its pretensions, they were advanced so confidently by its cultivators as to bear down all opposition, and to render it questionable whether the whole of European history, poetry, and science, was not about to be sacrificed to make way for that of India, and whether Calidasa was not to be elevated to that pedestal in the temple of fame, which had hitherto been occupied by the everlasting image of Homer. After a certain time, however, western scholars began to become jealous of the high encomiums which the cultivators of Sanscrit had so liberally bestowed on the object of their studies, and to scrutinize the foundation on which they were built; and, remarking the glaring deficiencies of Sanscrit history, the imperfections of its science, and the unnatural tone of its poetry, they have of late years been inclined to degrade its whole literature below the rank to which it is justly entitled, and even in many cases to represent it as almost unworthy of cultivation. We do not pretend to reconcile these contradictory opinions, both of which are to a certain degree founded on just and incontrovertible principles; it being true that Sanscrit literature has opened a vast field to the antiquarian, the historian, the grammarian, and the speculator in the history of the human mind: but at the same time it is impossible to deny its imperfections in all those branches of knowledge which are most interesting in the present state of the world. Still, after this concession, we must observe that, without pretending to determine the precise value of Sanscrit literature, there are some reasons which render its cultivation an object of importance.

It must be considered that Sanscrit is the language in which are contained the records of one hundred and twenty millions of the human race; it is that by which their whole system of opinion is guided, their whole system of manners influenced, and from which all their living languages appear to be derived. Altogether to neglect or despise it, then, is to refuse to sympathize with the feelings of an immense proportion of our fellow men, and to imitate the Hindoos, Mahommedans, and Chinese, in one of their most disgusting characteristics, that of a contempt for all nations and all manners but their own—a principle which has tended more than almost any other to alienate mankind from each other, and to perpetuate bloodshed and war.

But, if this consideration renders Sanscrit literature a rational object of curiosity to all civilized nations, it must make it peculiarly interesting to us, on whom Providence has conferred the rule over these people, placing them in a manner under our guardianship, so as to render the right government of the Hindoos a most important object in British policy. For us to neglect a study of their manners and institutions, and of the literature on which they are founded, is evidently as contrary to political wisdom as to justice. It can serve only to keep us ignorant of the dispositions of our subjects, and to inspire them with dislike and contempt for their rulers. Again, in a religious point of view, the study of Sanscrit is indispensable to those who undertake the important office of converting Hindoos to Christianity. For any one to undertake this who is not well versed in the Sanscrit language and literature, is like a physician undertaking to practise his profession without a knowledge of the Materia Medica, or a surgeon without the elements of anatomy. The lamentable want of success, which has hitherto attended the labours of our missionaries, is, no doubt, in a great measure, imputable to their ignorance of, or at least deficient acquaintance with, the language and literature of those whom they undertake to convert. Independently of the evident fact that ignorance of the standard literature of a country must miserably cramp a foreigner in his intercourse with its natives, it is to be considered that in India there is no prevailing language which can, with any propriety, be called that of the country. Almost every one of the different districts into which that extensive region is divided has its peculiar dialect, and this is generally unintelligible to those who speak another. A few of the principal and most cultivated, such as the Hindostanee (which is a dialect invented and employed by the upper classes of Mahommedans, in the north-western provinces of India,) the Bengalee, Ooriya, Mahratee, Guzarattee, Tamool, &c. are known to Europeans, and attempts have been made to compile grammars and dictionaries of them; but besides these there are innumerable others, of which we are almost totally ignorant, such as the Assamese, that of Arracan, the language of the Coles, that of the mountainous districts about Bhaugulpore and Behar, of the district of Chunar, &c.; all of which tracts contain a wide extent of population, but with whose inhabitants scarcely any European is able to communicate. It is unnecessary to add, that nothing in the shape of guides to these dialects has yet been compiled, nor (so great is the labour) can it be expected that any thing satisfactory in this way will be done, except by length of time and much labour. No method of

attaining these dialects therefore exists, excepting the very limited and uncertain one of oral communication; and yet it is plain that, without a fluency in them, the labours of a missionary are utterly futile. Now, although it is true that a mere knowledge of Sanscrit will not of itself render these dialects intelligible, yet they are all so intimately connected with or derived from that parent language, that a knowledge of it will render the attainment of them infinitely easier, and serve as an index or key for tracing their syntax and etymology, with a facility which nothing else whatever can give; so that a Sanscrit grammar and dictionary may, in some respects, be regarded as a grammar and dictionary of all the Indian languages whatever.

And lastly, to every one who desires to study grammar as a science, and to cultivate philology in the spirit of a philosopher, there is no doubt that Sanscrit, a language of so great, though unknown, antiquity and duration, whose structure is in itself so refined and complicated, and which is so unaccountably connected with the languages of Europe, must ever be an object of the liveliest interest.

Dictionaries may be considered as divided into two classes: the first, those which are intended to explain the language of the country in which they are compiled, by means of that language itself; the second, those which profess to explain the language of one nation by that of another. The objects of these are totally different. That of the first is to give a precise definition or illustration of each word in the same language as itself. The second class professes to give no definitions, but, supposing the meaning of the words of one language to be perfectly understood, undertakes to point out the words to which they are equivalent in another. Obvious as is this distinction, it has yet in many cases been overlooked, more particularly with respect to the Oriental tongues; and dictionaries have been composed on the one plan, when it was plainly the other that should have been adopted. And this mistake has greatly increased the difficulty of the acquisition of the Oriental tongues.

The Dictionary, which we are about to consider, belongs to the second class, that is to say, it professes to explain the words of Sanscrit by those of English. The sources whence such a work is to be compiled are chiefly three: First, the native Dictionaries of the Sanscrit language now in use among the Hindoos; secondly, the books in that language; thirdly, the words or phrases used in conversation. We must consider the nature of each.

At first view it might be supposed that the native dictionaries would give the state of a language in its most complete form, and that, could their contents be collated and systema-

tized for the European student, nothing more could be desired. It must be remembered, however, that native dictionaries are necessarily of the first class, and their object is therefore different from that of Mr. Wilson. However accurately they may give the definition of a word, both the word itself and its definition still require to be translated, and this, instead of diminishing, rather increases the Lexicographer's difficulty; since he has to find a word that will not only in his opinion express the true sense of the original, but will also agree with the definition so given. And though this at first sight might appear not to be difficult, it will be found on trial that the genius and idioms of different languages are so different, that it is hardly possible to find vocables that will fulfil both these conditions. Native dictionaries do not give translations, but definitions, of words. Now there are but few words that admit of precise definitions, and these are chiefly the names of sensible things and actions. The vast class of metaphysical terms which have reference to the operations of mind, which, as Locke would have said, express ideas of reflection, can seldom be defined, and are with very great difficulty illustrated. It follows, therefore, that there are but few words in native dictionaries which can be considered so distinctly explained as to be intelligible to a foreigner, unless he have previously some idea of the meaning of the word, that is, in fact, unless he be in possession of the very thing which we are supposing him to be seeking. Independent of this, there are a vast number of evanescent shades of meaning in words, which habit and familiarity cause a native to overlook, but which the attempt to translate them into another language immediately causes to appear; like two spheroids, which may seem perfectly similar and equal till you attempt to place both in the same concavity. And these minute differences accordingly are seldom or never registered by the Lexicographer of his own language, though to foreigners they may be perplexing in the extreme. To illustrate by one example. If any word in the whole compass of the English language could be supposed well explained by Johnson, it surely should be the simple word "man;" and, on looking at his explanation, we should be apt to think that he had collected and illustrated every variety of sense of which it was susceptible; yet, if we compare his list with that of Boyer, what a number of additional varieties do we find unnoticed by the English Lexicographer, but which appear immediately when it is attempted to translate them into French. Such as "to show one's self a man;" "to live like a man," "a merchant-man;" "a man of war;" "so much a man;" "the good man of the house;" "a chess-man." If such omissions would render a

mere translation of Johnson insufficient for a Frenchman, how much more so must they render the mere translation of a native Sanscrit Lexicon insufficient for a European! And what an infinite number of phrases are there which it is absolutely necessary for a foreigner to understand, but which the native lexicographer would never think of noticing!

The next source for the compilation of a dictionary is the study of the books existing in the language, from which are to be extracted all their vocables, in all the different senses in which they are found. This, no doubt, is a most satisfactory mode of proceeding, but it implies a degree of labour to which no individual can possibly be adequate. All that the most industrious can hope to execute is to collect a certain quantity of such materials, and, supposing such a work to be actually begun, it must be the labour of centuries before it could be made even to approximate to a conclusion.

The last source of compilation is the conversation of the people. In every country, there are an infinite number of phrases, which, though in every one's mouth, scarcely ever find their way into books. Yet it almost constantly happens that these very phrases are the most expressive and idiomatic of all; and hence, in a dictionary that professes to exhibit the whole strength of the language, their insertion is absolutely indispensable. It is for want of these that, in spite of all the exertions of the learned, the dictionaries of the classical languages must for ever remain to a certain degree unsatisfactory. Now, for the collection of these, are required talents and opportunities which seldom fall to the lot of a laborious scholar. The collector of colloquial phraseology must be capable of mixing with all classes of society, and taking part in all kinds of conversation; he must be a man of quick observation and most retentive memory. As these qualities are to be united in one individual, with the solitary habits and secluded diligence of a student of languages, it is no wonder that the combination should seldom be found, and, if found, that the rare and valuable compound should find far more profitable employment than the irksome compilation of dictionaries. To this it is to be added that colloquial language is of a much more fluctuating nature than written. The language of books, indeed, varies, but the variation is gradual. To use the phraseology of astronomy, their inequalities are secular, and some rules may be applied for their calculation; but the changes in colloquial language are totally beyond rule, and altogether indefinite as to date or duration. A set of phrases may be in vogue one year and perfectly familiar and intelligible; in the next they may have completely disappeared, and their places be supplied by a voca-

bulary entirely new, but destined to be as short-lived as its predecessor. Yet it is such changes as these that best exhibit the genius and capabilities of a language; and to pass them over without notice, though it may render the task of the lexicographer much easier, will yet render it much less interesting and useful.

All these observations show why the colloquial part of the dictionaries of all languages is that which is most defective and in all probability will ever remain so.

The sources from which a dictionary is to be compiled being thus disposed of, its arrangement remains to be considered. This may be made on two principles, one of which may be called the popular, the other the scientific. The popular is that which every one knows, wherein the words of a language are all, without regard to their etymology or mutual relations, ranked in mere alphabetical order, and each explained in a separate article. The scientific arrangement is that employed in Stephens' Greek and Golius's Arabic Lexicon, in which the radicles are arranged alphabetically, so that each occupies a distinct section of the dictionary, accompanied by all its derivatives; thus exhibiting, at one view, the relations which exist between them, and the changes produced in their meaning by the various signs of derivation—all which, it is plain, must be absolutely wanting in a dictionary of the former kind, wherein the vocables are arranged in alphabetical order merely, without any regard to their grammatical or etymological relations. Now there is no doubt that the latter of these methods is much the most philosophical; and, were the system of derivation and inflexion in any language quite analogical and regular, the student would have little to do but to learn the meaning of its primitives, after which he would find all its derivatives occupying a determinate and easily ascertained place. But, unfortunately, there is no language so perfect as to admit of this; and the infinite diversity of ideas renders it difficult to conceive that there ever should be. There are a number of words in all languages, of which it is hard to say whether they are primitive or derivative, and, if the latter, from what root they are derived. Even when this is ascertained, it may be difficult or impossible to point out the link between the meaning of the primitive and that which the derivative has in progress of time acquired. In many cases the same relation of meaning is produced by different methods of derivation. In others, the same mode of derivation, applied to different radicles, produces totally different relations of meaning. In many compound words it is impossible to determine which of the parts is to be considered the radicle. These, and a variety of other circumstances which might be enu-

merated, render it very difficult to carry this scientific arrangement into practice, however excellent it may seem in theory; to which is to be added that, even were it done, the dictionary can be of no use but to advanced students, who are well acquainted with the primitives of the language and its rules of derivation, which a beginner cannot be; to such, then, dictionaries thus arranged are nearly useless.

It is true that these disadvantages may be corrected in a great degree by the method adopted in Scapula's Greek Lexicon—that of adding an alphabetical index to the whole, directing to the place where each vocable is to be found. This, no doubt, remedies the disadvantage, but it is a tacit confession of the defective nature of the arrangement that renders such an appendix necessary. It may be added, that it necessarily doubles the labour of the student, by compelling him to seek each word, first in the index and then in the body of the work itself.

Notwithstanding all this, however, there are certain languages, such as Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Sanscrit, and German, that are so plainly composed of a few radicles, branching out into innumerable derivatives, by rules approaching so nearly to complete regularity, that the scientific arrangement seems in them the preferable of the two; and their native lexicographers accordingly appear, almost uniformly, to have adopted it. In this case it becomes necessary to inquire what really are the radicles of a language. Now, excepting particles, into whose mysterious nature we do not propose to inquire, it is plain that the great body of the words of every language are derivatives from its nouns and verbs. A dictionary, then, arranged on the scientific plan, should have its roots arranged in two classes, the nominal and the verbal. But it so happens that oriental grammarians, both Mahommedan and Hindoo, have endeavoured to carry simplification further than the nature of things admits of, and to reduce these two classes of radicles to one; and, as they seem to have considered it easier to derive things from events than events from things, they have agreed to view all nouns as derivatives, and to allow no words to be radicles but verbs only; and upon this plan they have accordingly arranged their dictionaries.

This point being settled, the next question to be decided is, what particular part of a verb is to be considered its radicle, from which all its inflections may be derived. Now in most languages there are two parts which may be viewed in this light, the simplest in their form and the first made use of by infants in their attempts to speak. Of these one is almost invariably the second person of the imperative mood. The other is sometimes, as in the case of the classical languages and our own, the first

person present of the indicative, and sometimes, as in the case of the Shemitic languages, the third person of the past. To follow the order of nature, then, either one or other of these two should be considered the root, according to its simplicity and the nature of the verb. But here, again, grammarians have carried their attempts at simplification farther than is warranted by the nature of things, and have endeavoured, in their systematic arrangements, to employ only one as the root, to the exclusion of the other. Europeans, as it is well known, have, in the classical languages, fixed on the first person present, and arrange their dictionaries according to the alphabetical order of these. In the modern tongues they have chosen to be governed by the infinitives, though many words in all languages will readily occur to the reader, in which the second person of the imperative is equally or more simple than either of these. Again, the grammarians of the Shemitic languages, Hebrew, Arabic, and their relatives, take as the root the third person of the past tense; so that, in those cases in which the imperative is the true root, it becomes a matter of difficulty or uncertainty where to find the verb required.

But the Sanscrit verbs are so complicated in their inflections, that no part, whatever, can with propriety be fixed on as the root. Even that which, in other languages, is the simplest and most invariable of all, the second person of the imperative, is in this language liable to most capricious variations. Thus of the verb Dā, *to give*, the second person imperative active is Daehee, and the middle is Dutswa. It is impossible, then to consider this as the root; and, as the other inflections are less suited to the purpose, Sanscrit grammarians have been compelled to adopt a system altogether artificial, and, instead of fixing on any one determinate inflection, have invented for each verb a word otherwise unmeaning, which is understood to be the abstract representative of all the inflections together; just as an algebraical character may represent all quantities whatever of a particular class. And to this unmeaning word they give the name of Dhatoo, or elementary principle; the only condition of its formation being that it shall contain the letters which appear most prominently in the inflections, which letters, if consonants, are to be connected by such vowels as will render the combination easy of pronunciation. For example, in the English verb *to come*, it is evident that the most apparent letters are *c* and *m*. We might, therefore, take these two, and, connecting them by a vowel, call *cum* or *cam* the Dhatoo, or element of the verb—a sound which, in itself, would have no meaning, but from which all the significant inflections of the verb might be sup-

posed to be derived, according to the rules of etymology. In the same manner in the verb *to bring*, the chief letters being b, r, and g, the word brig might be considered as the Dhatoo, and then, in the manner of the Sanscrit grammarians, a distinctive mark called an Anubundha is added to the Dhatoo, to show that n, the nasal, is inserted in certain inflections. In the present case this Anubundha would be an i at the beginning, and hence *ibrig* would be the representation, or root, of all the inflections of the verb *to bring*, with this information that an n is to be inserted in certain of them.

Mr. Wilson's plan has been to endeavour to unite these two methods. He gives all the Dhatoos alphabetically arranged, followed by their various meanings, and points out the most remarkable circumstances in their inflection. He then gives a list of the inseparable prepositions with which they are compounded, and the variations in the significations produced by these. This concludes the account of each Dhatoo taken separately, after which the most remarkable and irregular participles, substantives or adjectives, thence derived, are arranged in their proper alphabetical places in the general course of the Dictionary. It is true that this method necessarily produces a good deal of repetition, but it is upon the whole the most convenient to the student.

The foregoing observations will not be deemed too long, if it be considered how little is yet known in Europe of the Sanscrit language, and in what a deep cloud of mystery it is still supposed to be enveloped. It is now high time to turn to Mr. Wilson himself, and to give a more particular account of his book.

Of this Dictionary two editions have already been published, one so long ago as 1819, the other in 1832. The first difference between them that strikes the reader is, that the former has a preface of considerable length, giving an account of the sources from which the work is compiled, and which preface is omitted in the latter. This omission, we confess to be to us a subject of regret; for though it might, in a small degree, increase the size of the book, yet the information which it contains is so valuable as to be a full compensation.

The edition of 1819 is dedicated to the Honourable Court of Directors, and we cannot omit quoting from it the following paragraph:—

"It is an assertion that scarcely requires proof, that the Hindu population of these extensive realms can be understood only through the medium of the Sanscrit language; it alone furnishes us with the mainspring of all their actions and passions, their prejudices and errors, and enables us to appreciate their vices or their worth: without this knowledge, therefore, the kindest intentions and wisest designs for their happiness and amelioration will often prove, as they have often proved,

abortive; and even where successful, will attain success only by a prodigal waste of time and exertion, occasioned by the wrong direction of laudable zeal, and the idle opposition of unnecessary doubt and absurd misapprehension."

To the same purpose we find in the short preface to the edition of 1832:—

"Notwithstanding these considerations, however, I might still have hesitated to engage in a reprint of the Dictionary upon the original plan, had it not been thought desirable by the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal to provide, with as little delay as possible, the assistance it was calculated to afford to the conjoint acquirement of English and Sanscrit in the native colleges under their superintendence; such a combination being in their opinion of the first importance in those seminaries where Hindoo youth are reared, not only for the diffusion of the English language, but for the communication of an elementary knowledge of Sanscrit to numbers now precluded from an attainment, which is essentially necessary to the natives themselves, for a critical knowledge of the languages which they speak, and for the correct application of them to written compositions. This latter circumstance determined me to publish at once a second edition of the Sanscrit and English Dictionary, with no other alterations than such as were requisite to render it more comprehensive, and less bulky and better suited to general use."

After this decided opinion from this distinguished scholar and excellent judge, the reader will be justly surprised to learn that at present the whole force of public opinion in India, and as it is generally understood with the concurrence of government, is directed to the suppression of the study of Sanscrit. The language is denounced as useless, immoral, and pernicious, and its votaries as ignorant, self-interested bigots; and on all hands the cry resounds to prohibit the study, we may in fact say to persecute the students. To such a length has this been carried, that strong measures are now in operation to abolish the whole of the Sanscrit colleges throughout the British dominions in India, and to disperse their students. We may go the length of asserting that nothing is now understood to be so effectual a bar to the advancement of an individual in that country as his being known to be addicted to this proscribed language. The consequence is, that its cultivation among Europeans has almost entirely ceased, and there is every reason to believe that in a very short time there will not be one of our countrymen in the East acquainted with it. This extraordinary infatuation has existed only for two or three years past. To point out its cause, though easy, would be highly invidious; we shall therefore be content with saying that its effects are already beginning to be sadly apparent. Independently of the extraordinary consideration that a British government in the

nineteenth century should re-act the part of the Gothic and Saracenic destroyers of ancient literature, we are by such conduct voluntarily putting a bandage over our own eyes with respect to every thing connected with the real views and sentiments of our Indian fellow-subjects. We are alienating in the strongest manner the most respectable and best-informed Hindoos. We are divesting ourselves of all sympathy with their feelings, and are cramping and abridging our means of intercourse in the most lamentable degree. All this may be considered the more extraordinary, as every other nation in Europe is daily becoming more sensible of the importance of the study and more zealous in its prosecution; so that, in all probability, British India will soon be the only part of the civilized world in which the study of Indian literature is discouraged and crushed.

We are far from wishing to undervalue the labours of the Calcutta Committee of Public Instruction, of which mention is made in the extract we have given above. We are well aware that in general their exertions have been highly useful and meritorious; but truth compels us to say that, on the present occasion, they have allowed themselves to be carried away by this popular delusion, and are now exerting their whole influence to discourage the study of Sanscrit and Oriental literature in general. Public edution in India has accordingly taken a retrograde direction, and instead of going on to communicate to the natives knowledge of a higher and higher kind, we have turned back to confine our efforts to the lowest steps of literature and science. Of this, did our space admit, it would be easy to give abundance of proofs. In the mean time we may mention as one, our almost total inattention to translations of respectable books *into* the Oriental languages—a want which cripples our attempts to communicate instruction to the natives in a degree appreciable only by those who have been engaged in the attempt. To such a degree does this want exist that, were our dominion in India now to cease, though we have held it so long, not a single monument of our literature would remain in its languages; nor should we have communicated to the Oriental world a single work of real value.

The foundation of the present work of Mr. Wilson's appears to have been a Dictionary compiled for the use of Fort William College by its pundits, and published in 1809. Its plan is thus stated by its author:—

"To collect these different authorities (the native Coshas or Dictionaries) into one compilation, and arrange their united contents into an accessible shape, were the objects of the work undertaken for the use of the College; and to these were added the citation of the authority, and the synonymes there given, the specification of the genders of nouns and

the etymological analysis. It was written in the Bengali characters, and occupied four large volumes. A copy of the Dictionary thus described came into my possession shortly after my Sanscrit studies, and I anticipated the most valuable assistance to them from such a source. I found, however, that it comprehended in its etymological details and lengthened quotations of synonymes, much more than I required, and that from its unwieldy size it was inconvenient and embarrassing in use. I therefore effected its conversion into a more commodious form, and prepared a translation of its abbreviated contents for my private reference.

"Upon the completion of my task, circumstances led to the communication of its results to Mr. Colebrook, a name which in Hindu literature and science carries with it a weight and authority that all must bow to, and by his advice I was induced to revise my labours, and to hope that they might be rendered serviceable to the study of Sanscrit lore. I had therefore to recommence my labours, and carefully to collate the compilation of Raghumani with the authorities on which it rested, and it soon appeared that accuracy was no part of the compiler's merits; the mistakes were innumerable and of every kind; words incorrectly written and erroneously interpreted, fanciful etymologies, covering and sanctioning those errors, passages wrongly cited, and the names of the original vocabularies constantly confounded, met me in every page, and the adjustment of these inaccuracies, added to the difficulty inseparable from a reference to such unmethodical guides as the Sanscrit Coshas, has rendered the business of collation the most laborious and harassing portion of my task; fortunately, it was a duty on which my native assistants were best employed, and they have been especially so occupied. To those who are acquainted with the character of these assistants, it is needless to expatiate upon the necessity of vigilantly superintending and revising whatever they do, and it would be difficult to convey to a person not acquainted with them any conception of their carelessness and indolence, and of the limited dependence to be placed upon native research, when not sedulously and unremittingly controlled. I have had in the course of my labours the aid of many pundits of high credit and respectable acquirements, and regret much that I cannot associate the name of any of them with my own as a partner in the little credit I may hope to derive from the present publication."

Mr. Wilson then goes on to state the imperfections which must necessarily exist in a dictionary compiled from native authorities alone: we quote what he says in confirmation of our own observations on this subject.

"The plan of the original compilation including the contents of the vocabularies alone, left the work exceedingly defective; the *roots* of the language are all excluded from those collections, as are most technical terms and words of common occurrence, and none of these accordingly were comprised in Raghumani's dictionary. I am disposed, indeed, to question the expedience of the primary plan, and to conceive that a more useful Lexicon might have been drawn up from the classical compositions of the best Hindu writers, instead of deriving it from the

Coshas only. At the same time, as these last are the received authorities of all India, and as the interpretations resting on general writings may be contested; as they are also perpetually cited in the ablest commentaries, and their omission might have given undue importance to their supposed contents; it was absolutely necessary to comprehend as many of them as were procurable within the scope of the work: to have added to those authorities the general body of Hindu compositions would have involved an amount of labour, cost, and time, and a voluminous extent of preparation, which the state of Sanscrit study does not yet require, and perhaps does not permit."

He then goes on to give an account of the native dictionaries now used in India. Of these the most celebrated is the Amer Cosha, or vocabulary of Amera Sinha, which was published with a translation by Mr. Colebrook at Serampore in 1808. Mr. Wilson enters into an elaborate inquiry as to the date of this celebrated Lexicographer, through which our limits will not permit us to follow him. Unfortunately, the complete darkness which hitherto involves every thing connected with ancient Indian history and chronology is such, that even Mr. Wilson's efforts are unable to attain any satisfactory conclusions. All known on the matter is, that Amera Sinha *probably* flourished in the court of king Vicramaditya; but who, we may ask, was he?

"The real date of Vicramaditya's reign is, however, still a desideratum in Indian History; and, in spite of the learned labours of that profound investigator, Major Wilford, we have yet to ascertain whether the voice of tradition be that of truth; the circumstance of Amera's being cotemporary with him depends upon no more positive proof, and there is some inconsistency in making the Buddha philologist the favourite and minister of a monarch, who is always described in the legends recorded of him as a pious worshipper of the orthodox divinities, and the liberal patron of the regular priesthood. The age of the Amera Cosha can scarcely be fixed within any very narrow limits, and we can only feel satisfied of its composition at some period long anterior to the tenth century; an opinion farther warranted by the grammarian Vopadeva, who is generally assigned to the twelfth century, and who enumerates Amera among the eight *old* grammarians, an epithet he would no more have attached to a writer but two or three centuries anterior to himself, than any grammarian of the present day would think of giving to Bhattoji Dicshita, who compiled the Caumudi about two hundred years ago. Amera Sinha may therefore be left, agreeably to tradition, to the beginning of the Christian era, or, as connected with other traditionary notices of names and events, which I shall proceed to describe, he may be brought down to a later date, and placed about the middle or end of the fifth century after Christ.

"The persecution," continues Mr. Wilson, "of the followers of Buddha by the Brahminical order is a subject on which both sects are agreed. One of the earliest and most harmless effects of it, it is generally

believed, was the anathematizing of the Buddha works, and amongst them of the compositions of Amera, all which consequently perished with the exception of his vocabulary. As the persecution is thus restricted to Amera's literary existence, we may infer his personal exemption from its fury by his existence prior to that event, and, by ascertaining therefore the time of its commencement, we may be able to add another conjecture to those we have formed of our author's age.

Celebrated as is the persecution and temporary suppression of the Buddha heresy, it is an occurrence of which the date is as uncertain as any other event in Hindu history; its institution is generally attributed to Sancara Acharya, and with his age therefore must originate our inquiry."

After a long investigation of this also, Mr. Wilson proceeds to give the result of the whole inquiry, and this we shall quote at length, both as settling this point, as far as it admits, and also as exhibiting a specimen of those gross mistakes into which Europeans will always be led, who pretend to investigate the history or manners of the Hindoos without a knowledge of Sanscrit.

"The examination I have thus instituted into the age of Amera Sinha has extended itself to limits no doubt disproportioned to the importance of the inquiry. I had, however, to correct errors, and to controvert prejudices, as well as to contend with the natural difficulties of the subject, and to support my averments by the best authorities within my reach. As to the result of the research, I shall willingly, if convinced by worthy testimony of having erred in my conclusions, submit to correction; those conclusions, indeed, are only positive within certain limits, and, as the sum of the investigation, I have only satisfied myself with the choice of one of two alternatives: either assent to the tradition which places Amera Sinha in the time of the primitive Vicramaditya, fifty-six years before the Christian era; or to the inference deduced from the contiguous position of a number of persons and things connected more or less directly with our author's supposed history, which designates the early part of the fifth century as the time at which Amera flourished.

"Those notions which attribute an extravagant antiquity to the Hindus are fully as absurd as those which deny them any antiquity at all. As I have combated one set of opinions, therefore, it would have been but just to expose the other, as epitomised in Fra Bartolomeo's account of Amera Sinha. To do this, however, it will be sufficient to cite his expressions, pausing only to observe that these absurdities are the composition of a man who lavished every term of abuse upon the *Anglo-Calcuttenses*, then engaged under the auspices of Warren Hastings and Sir William Jones in instituting the legitimate inquiries, which alone have displayed to European knowledge the true extent and character of *Indian* learning, and which he arrogantly and abruptly denounced as vain speculations and idle dreams. After most gratuitously and ridiculously converting Amera Sinha into *Amera Ch'hinna*, and explaining that to signify 'librum *cœli signa* continentem,' he proceeds, 'ita certe hujus

vocabuli etymologiam et analysim mihi tradidit linguæ Sanscrdamicæ peritissimus vir, Ciangra Aashan, atque balucinatos fuisse puto *Calcuttenses Anglos* qui Amarasinha philosophum et Vikramaditya regis Indici a consiliis virum fuisse adstruunt, ipsique hunc librum nullo prorsus fundamento innixi adscribunt, cum tamen evidens esse videatur, *librum istum una cum Idolatria Indica compositum fuisse, ac non solum totius mythologiæ et liturgiæ basim, sed primum librum precatorium esse, quo Brahmanes in ipso suæ idolatriæ exordio usi sunt*'—elevating in this extraordinary manner a common vocabulary to the distinction of a *Ritual* and Liturgy, coexistent with the origin of the Hindu idolatry and the basis of the Brahminical superstitions. A blunder of another character, although of an equally absurd description, connected with the Amera Cosha, has been committed by Anquetil du Perron, and has been adduced by Mr. Mills as 'a remarkable instance of the disposition of Brahmans to accommodate by falsification even their sacred records to the ideas of Europeans.' Du Perron says—'Si je n'avois pas sçu que le commencement de l'Amarkesh contenoit la description du Lingam, peut-être m'eut il été impossible de decouvrir, que mes Brahmes, qui ne vouloient pas dévoiler le fond de leurs mystères, paraphrasoient et pallioient plutôt qu'ils ne traduisoient.'—A description of the Lingam in the introduction to the Amera Cosha! Du Perron's Brahmans must have been much astonished at the discovery, and at the perverse spirit and gross ignorance which converted Amera's account of the contents of his vocabulary, comprising the genders (linga) of nouns, into the mystical mention of an object with which his preamble has no kind of connection, except the indispensable employment of a grammatical term that happens also to have the same meaning, but which, occurring where and how it does, the merest novice in Sanscrit literature could not possibly misunderstand. We have had too much of mere pretenders to knowledge in oriental literature, and it is high time to weigh accurately the real merit of all authorities on matters of Asiatic learning and history, if we wish to gain any real acquaintance with such subjects, or if we retain the slightest veneration for truth."

Mr. Wilson then goes on to give an account of the other native works which he had consulted. These are, first, eight Commentaries on the Amera Cosha, and twenty independent Vocabularies. All of these he has employed in his compilation. The most celebrated of them is the Medini Cosha, which is thus characterized:—

"An excellent Dictionary of homonymous words, arranged according to their final letters and their syllabic lengths, and then further disposed with alphabetical precision; it is a compilation of great accuracy and high authority, and constitutes, after the Amera Cosha, the basis and bulk of my labours.

"The closing section of the Medini recapitulates the authorities employed in its composition, and comprises, amongst others, the fullest list of Coshas to be met with. On this account, and as they appear to be enumerated according to their supposed comparative antiquity, I shall

here transcribe the catalogue, accompanying it with such information as to their present existence as I am able to offer from my own knowledge, or from the oral accounts of the Pundits."

The list here alluded to comprised twenty-four distinct works, "forming, with the Medini, twenty-five vocabularies, all prior to the fifteenth century, and of which my original and myself, aided as we were by Mr. Colebrook's valuable collection of Manuscripts, have been able to procure no more than nine or ten. They are not, however, the whole number of works extant in the times of Medini Cara and his predecessors, which were either vocabularies themselves, or treated of the forms, inflexions, genders, and meaning of words, in a manner that sanctioned their being included in the same class."

The preceding may serve to give the reader some idea of the extent of the labour expended in the compilation of Wilson's Dictionary. As a specimen of the result, we shall here present our readers with the explanation of a root in common use throughout the Classical and Teutonic languages. The root *Sht'thá*,* to stand, &c. We have inserted a few explanations in italics, and those passages which are within brackets are the additions which the second edition makes to the first.

"SHT'THA', r. 1st. cl. *root of the first conjugation* (*third person sing. pres. tense, active*, TISHTHATI.) [1] To stand, to stop, to be still, to refrain from moving. [2] To abide, to stay, to be (third pers. sing. pres. tense, middle, TISHTHATÉ.) [1] To apply or refer to, as an umpire or judge. [2] To indicate or reveal one's thoughts to another. With *the inseparable preposition* ADHI prefixed, *it becomes* ADHITISHTHATI. [1] To excel, to surpass, to overcome. [[3] To sit or stand upon or over. [3] To be placed or preside over. With *the prep.* ANU, (ANUTISHTHATI.) [1] To practise as a duty, to obey or follow as a law. [2] To apply or adhere to.] With *the prep.* AVA (*third pers. pr. act.* AVATISHTHATI *do. mid.* AVATISHTHATÉ.) [1] To stay or stand. [[2] To attend upon.] With *the prep.* A'N, *which here loses its final n*, (A'TISHTHATÉ, *middle.*) [1] To affirm or assert. [[2] To apply,] (ATISHTHATI, *active.*) [1] To ascend, to mount. [[2] To promise or engage.] With *the prep.* UT (UTTISHTHATÉ, *mid.*): To seek for, to endeavour to obtain, (UTTISHTHATI, *act.*) To get up, to rise as from a seat, &c. With *the prep.* UPA (UPATISHTHATI, *act.* ——TÉ, *mid.*) [1] To propitiate (as a deity.) [2] To praise or hymn, to worship, to adore. [[3] To em-

* For the convenience both of the printer and reader, we have endeavoured to express the Sanscrit words in this quotation by Roman letters, according to the system of Sir William Jones, as it is given and followed by Mr. Wilson in the *first* edition of the Dictionary. We find, however, that in the *second* edition this system is abandoned, and such Sanscrit words as require expression in Roman characters are spelt in a manner totally different. Being ourselves fully persuaded of the impossibility of establishing any satisfactory system of Roman orthography for oriental languages, we are neither disappointed nor surprised at Mr. Wilson's change of system, and shall only remark upon it, that such a vacillation in a scholar so eminent, and so well qualified to establish, were it possible, a correct oriental Roman orthography, is one of the strongest proofs of the hopelessness of such attempts in general.

brace. [4] To treat in a friendly manner, to form a friendship or connection with. [5] To pass or lie along or near to, that is, as a path or road. [6] To arrive at or near.] (UPATISHTHATÉ, *mid. only.*) To hope to gain or acquire. [With *the prep.* NI (NITISHTHATÉ.) To be established. With the two preps. PARI and AVA *united, which then become* PARYYAVA (PARYYAVATISHTHATI.) To be stationary or immoveable.] With *the prep.* PRA (PRATISHTHATÉ.) [1] To set off, to go forth, to depart. [2] To go to:—with *the preps.* PRA and UT *united, which then become* PROT (PROTTISHTHATI.) To get up, to rise.] With *the prep.* PRATI (PRATITISHTHATI.) To be erected for holy purposes, to be sacred or consecrated. With *the prep.* VI (VITISHTHATÉ.) [1] To stand apart, to be separated. [2] To stay or be:—with VI and AVA *united, which become* VYAVA (VYAVATISHTHATÉ.) To decree, to pronounce.] With *the prep.* SAM, *which, in composition, becomes* SAN, (SANTISHTHATÉ.) [1] To be well. [2] To be close to, or together. [3] To be of the same inclinations or opinions, to conform, to agree. [4] To be completed or finished. With SAM and A'N *united* (SAMATISHTHATÉ.) To perform, to be engaged in. With SAM and UT *united* (SAMUTTISHTHATI.) To rise or get up. With SAM and PRA *united.* To go forth, or on a journey. With the *prep.* PRA *prefixed to the root* in the causal form] *of conjugation, which is a form appropriated to this purpose* (PRASTHAPAYATI.) To send, *i. e. to cause to go forth.*

We shall add another: the root Kri, to do or make, that is, the Latin Creo.

" KRI, r. 5th cl. *root of the 5th conjug. To this root is subjoined an Anubundha or indicatory letter* N', *which implies that the active and middle voices of this verb are used according to their real nature, the former to denote an action passing from an agent to an object, the latter, an action operating on the agent himself. The root thus becomes* KRIN (*third pers. sing. act.* KRINÓTI, *mid.* KRINÚTÉ.) To hurt, to injure, to kill. *With the two Anubundhas* (DU *and* N'), *the former of which indicates that a particular form of adjective may be derived from the root, it becomes* DUKRIN, r. 8th cl., *and is then reckoned a root of the 8th conj., and very irregularly inflected* (KARÓTI, KÚRÚTÉ.) To do, to make, to perform any kind of action: this root admits most of the prepositions and a variety of significations; it is also active or deponent, according to its prefix and import; as, [1 With ATI (ATIKÚRÚTÉ.) To exceed, to do more.] [2] With ADHI (ADHIKÚRÚTÉ.) [a] To [surpass or] overcome. [b] To superintend, to govern. [c] To hold of right.] [d] To bear patiently. [e] To refrain from. [3] With ANU (ANUKARÓTI.) [To copy,] to imitate, to act like or after. [4] With APA (APAKÚRÚTÉ. [a] [To wrong, to injure.] [b] To do evil. [5] With A'N (A'KÚRÚTÉ.) [a] To call. [b] To take shape or form.] [6] With UT (UTKÚRÚTÉ.) [a] To kill or hurt dangerously. [b] To collect, to assemble.] [7] With UD and A'N UDAKÚRÚTÉ.] To reproach. [8] With UPA (UPAKÚRÚTÉ.) [To befriend,] to serve [or assist.] [9] With UPA and S—inserted (UPASKÚRÚTÉ, or UPASKURÓTI.) To alter. (UPASKURÓTI *only.*) [a] [To polish,] to adorn. [b] To assemble. [c] To reply. [10] With TIRAS (TIRASKARÓTI.) To abuse, to revile. [11] With DUR, *in which the*

final r is—by orthographical rules changed into sh, and is the Greek Δυς (Dushkarōti.) To do evil. [12] With Nir and A'n (Nira'kŭrŭtĕ.) [a] To make light of, to contemn. [b] To expel. [c] To annihilate.] [13] With Pari [and S inserted] (Pariskarōti.) To polish, [to refine,] to [make elegant or] perfect. [14] With Para and A'n (Para'karōti.) To act well. [15] With Pra (Prakŭrŭtĕ.) [[a] To begin. [b] To do any thing quickly. [c] To serve.] [d] To allot, to portion. [e] To violate. [f] To chaunt, to recite. [[16] With Prati (Pratikŭrŭtĕ.) [a] To counteract, [b] To retaliate. [c] To remedy. With Prati and Upa (Pratyupakŭrŭtĕ.) To requite, to return a kindness.] With Vi (Vikurutĕ.) [a] To utter, to sound. [[b] To seek, to strive for.] (Vikarōti.) [a] To alter, to change in form. [b] To disturb or agitate. [18] With Vi and A'n (Vyakŭrŭtĕ.) [a] To explain, to expound. [b] To make manifest or public. [19] With Sam, *which in composition becomes* Sang (Sangskarōti.) [a] To polish, to perfect. [b] To assemble, to bring together. [[20] With Su (Sukarōti.) To do well.]"

The length to which these remarks have already extended, warns us that it is time to conclude. We shall, therefore, sum up the whole by observing that the present is one of those fortunate works whose value cannot be overlooked. It is evident that no student of Sanscrit can be without it, and even to those who are not professedly such, but who are interested in the study of general and rational philology, history, and antiquities, and in the present manners, politics, or statistics of India, it is indispensable. To every one of these, in his several departments, it presents in itself an inexhaustible treasure of information already collected, and points out the surest way of obtaining more. Had the work been of the most imperfect kind, it would still, from the total want of any thing else, have been an invaluable present to the literary world; but when we consider its high absolute excellence merely as a Dictionary, without any reference to the wants of Sanscrit scholars, it is impossible not to admire the talents which could not only project the plan of a Sanscrit Dictionary, but bring its execution so near to perfection.

But it is justly observed by Mr. Wilson, that Sanscrit is a language "which may be said to have no limit." However much then may be contained in this Dictionary, and however much the author may have done, much still remains to do; and the best wish we can express for those who have leisure and inclination for such studies is, that Mr. Wilson, as in the Preface to his second edition he gives us some reason to hope, would favour the world with a third edition, with such addenda as his experience must by this time have enabled him to make, among which we would venture to suggest that of a reverse part, or Index, so as to form a Dictionary English and Sanscrit.

ART. IV.—*Storia del Reame di Napoli, dal* 1734, *sino dal* 1825. Del Generale Pietro Colletta. (*History of the Kingdom of Naples, from* 1734 *to* 1825. By General Peter Colletta.) Capolago, Cantone Ticino, 1834. 4 vol. 8vo.

THIS is a most important historical work, written with ability and eloquence of no common kind, and in a spirit of truth and sincerity, by a man who acted a not insignificant, though always honourable part, in many of the vicissitudes and events which he has here narrated. Colletta was born at Naples in 1775. He early applied himself to the study of mathematics, while his classical education was not neglected. In 1796 he entered the military service as an officer in the artillery, and was present during the disastrous campaign against the French in 1798. He served afterwards under the turbulent and short-lived republic, without being either a demagogue or a fanatic. His friends succeeded in saving him from the proscriptions that followed. Being, however, dismissed from the service, he found employment as a civil engineer in draining the marshes near the mouth of the Ofanto. When the French took possession of Naples, for the second time, in 1806, Colletta was reinstated in his rank, and employed at the siege of Gaeta, and at the taking of Capri. He was afterwards sent by Murat, as Intendant, to Calabria, where he remained two years. In 1812 he was made a general, and director of the roads and bridges. Two of the finest roads in the neighbourhood of Naples were planned by him, and executed under his directions. In 1813 he was appointed chief of the engineer department. He accompanied Murat in his two campaigns of 1814-15, and after the reverses of the last, he was sent by him to the Austrian head-quarters, where he signed the capitulation of Casalanza, by which Ferdinand was restored to the kingdom of Naples. He was continued in his employments by the restored government, which he served with loyalty. He kept entirely aloof from the plots and machinations that brought about the revolution of 1820. During the short period of the constitutional government he was sent as captain-general to Sicily, to restore order in that island, and was subsequently appointed minister of war: but the entrance of the Austrians, and the overthrow of the constitution, again and finally threw him out of employment, and drove him into exile along with many others, on account of their liberal opinions. After spending two years in the Austrian dominions, where he was treated with respect and attention by that government, he was allowed, on account of his health, to return to Italy in 1823. He took up his residence in Tuscany, and beguiled the tedium of exile, in his latter years (he died in November, 1831,) by

composing the work before us, which forms a most valuable addition to the stock of Italian histories, and may be considered as a worthy continuation of Giannone's History of Naples. It embraces the period from the establishment of the Spanish Bourbon dynasty on the throne of Naples, in 1734, to the death of Ferdinand I., in 1825. It is divided into *ten* books, the *first* of which contains an account of the reign of Charles III., and the useful reforms and improvements introduced by that well-intentioned monarch. The *second* book treats of the early part of the reign of Ferdinand I., who, by means of his ministers, followed for a time the steps of his father and predecessor. Then came the French revolution, which, by the fears it inspired and the passions it excited, changed the whole system of Neapolitan policy, and plunged the country into an abyss of calamities. The ill-advised and worse-directed war against the French, the invasion that followed, the madness of the republic, and the atrocities of the counter-revolution—these form the subject of the *third* and *fourth* books, and are all portrayed in vivid but true colours. Those who are acquainted with Cuoco's and Botta's histories of the same period, will yet find in Colletta's narrative much that is new. The six years that elapsed between Ferdinand's first restoration and the French invasion under Joseph Bonaparte fill up the *fifth* book. The *sixth* is occupied with Joseph's short but troubled reign. The *seventh* comprises a very interesting account of the administration of Joachim Murat, during the seven years of his reign, followed by his melancholy catastrophe and tragical end. The *eighth* book contains the account of Ferdinand's administration from his restoration to the revolution of 1820. The *ninth* gives a narrative of the establishment of the constitution and its fall in 1821. The *tenth* book relates the events which followed Ferdinand's third restoration, till his death in 1825.

The information which Colletta gives us of the circumstances of the feud between Murat and his imperious brother-in-law is not a little curious. Soon after Murat's precipitate return to his capital, after the disasters of the Russian campaign, negociations were entered into between him and Lord William Bentinck, who commanded in Sicily. Full of the apprehension that Napoleon's headlong ambition and reckless obstinacy were about to bring down ruin upon himself and all those connected with him, Murat became exceedingly anxious to save his kingdom of Naples from the general wreck. He had been grievously offended by Napoleon on several occasions, and especially by the sneering manner in which his departure from the army was announced in the French *Moniteur*, and the preference therein exhibited towards Eugene

Beauharnois, who succeeded him in the command of the French army. Napoleon, maddened by his reverses, wrote to his sister, Murat's wife, bitterly reproaching her husband, in his usual violent style, as a traitor, an imbecile in politics, unworthy of his alliance, and threatening him with condign punishment. Murat replied to this epistle by another, which he sent to Napoleon, without communicating it to his wife. Colletta, who enjoyed Murat's confidence at the time, gives us some extracts of the contents of this very characteristic letter:

"'The wound you have inflicted upon my character is deep, and it is beyond your Majesty's power to heal it. You have insulted an old companion in arms, who was faithful to you in all your dangers, who contributed not a little to your victories, and who seasonably revived your downcast spirits on the 18th Brumaire. . . . . You are pleased to say, that one who has the honour of belonging to 'your illustrious family' ought to avoid every thing that may prejudice its interests, or tarnish its splendour. But I, sir, tell you in reply, that your family has received from me as much honour as it has imparted to me with the hand of your sister Caroline. Although I am called a king, many is the time that I have recalled, with a sigh of regret, the days when I was a simple officer, when I acknowledged superiors—but no master. Since I became a king, I have been tyrannized over by your Majesty, and domineered in the bosom of my own family; and at such times, I have felt more strongly than ever the want of independence, and a thirst for liberty. It is ever thus that you afflict—that you sacrifice to your suspicious temper—the men most faithful to you, those who have been your firmest supporters in the portentous career of your fortunes. Thus you sacrificed Fouché to Savary, Talleyrand to Champagny, and afterwards Champagny to Maret, and now you have sacrificed Murat to Beauharnois;—to that Beauharnois, whose great merit, in your eyes, is his mute obedience, besides the other merit, yet more acceptable to you, of having announced to the French senate the divorce of his mother. . . . I cannot refuse to my people some alleviation of the intolerable evils which your maritime war inflicts upon the country. From all that has passed between us, it is clear that our old mutual confidence exists no longer. You will act as you think proper; but whatever be your wrongs towards me, I call myself still your affectionate brother-in-law,

JOACHIM."

Murat had about him persons who encouraged him in thus casting off his dependence on Napoleon. Ever since 1810, says Colletta, several Neapolitans, and a native of another part of Italy, men placed in confidential stations, perceiving that the headlong career of Napoleon must lead to a precipice, conceived that the only chance of safety for Naples was the union of all Italy under one sceptre. In their eyes, Murat's ambition and bravery marked him out as the man who could achieve this great object. The suggestion was whispered to Murat's ear, and he

listened to it without displeasure, but kept it a profound secret from his ministers and his wife. On his return from Russia, the same counsellors represented to him that the opportune moment was now arrived, that all the armies of Europe were concentrated in Germany, that Italy was free from both French and Austrian troops, that Buonaparte could never recover his former supremacy over the world, and that, by making peace with England, he (Murat) might occupy all Italy, unite it under his sceptre, and make it independent for ever. Acting upon these suggestions, Murat sent messengers to meet Lord William Bentinck in the island of Ponza, and, after some negociation, it was agreed between them that Murat should march to the north of Italy, and wrest the whole Peninsula from the power of Napoleon, and that an auxiliary English army should co-operate with him. This took place in the spring of 1813. Murat was only waiting for the ratification of the treaty by the English ministry. But, in the mean time, his wife had been using all her exertions to effect a reconciliation between her husband and her brother; Napoleon again wrote in a friendly strain, and commissioned Ney and Fouché to write to Murat, that the French army was on the eve of a fresh campaign and calling loudly for the king of Naples; that the cavalry was waiting impatiently to place itself under its old commander, that the destinies of France and of Europe were to be tried once more on the banks of the Elbe, and that he, even for the interest of his own kingdom in the event of a peace, ought to be present on the spot. Murat, wholly at a loss what course to pursue, and being urged by his wife, at last revealed to her the secret of the negociations which he had been carrying on with Lord William Bentinck. Caroline persuaded him to join the French army, while she, as Regent, would continue to carry on the affair with England. Murat, with his natural credulity, at last yielded, and proceeded to Dresden; and the negociation with England fell to the ground.

After the defeat of Leipzig, Murat, having sustained his high military reputation during the campaign, took his last leave of Napoleon at Erfurt, and returned to Naples towards the close of 1813. In January, 1814, he made a treaty of peace and alliance with Austria, and soon after a convention with England, which put an end to the hostilities by sea, and opened the intercourse between Naples and Sicily. Murat then marched with 22,000 men, occupied the Roman States, besieged the French garrisons of Ancona and Civita Vecchia, and, having taken those places, joined at Bologna and Ferrara the Austrian division under General Nugent, with which he was to act on the southern bank of the Po against the Italian and French army under Eugene. Murat

had now taken his part openly and after mature deliberation, and it was his policy, as well as his duty, to have co-operated sincerely and frankly with the Allies. Colletta, who had urged him to the step, because he thought it the only chance which Naples had of escaping further calamities and of retaining its independence, was for a straight-forward active co-operation. But Murat wavered between his old attachment to his brother-in-law and the interests and the wishes of his own subjects.

The real sentiments of Murat, during his singular campaign of 1814, have been a matter of dispute; Colletta clears up the question. There was mistrust on both sides—of the Allies towards Murat, and of Murat towards the Allies. Lord William Bentinck remembered the fate of the negociations of the preceding year. Bellegarde, the Austrian general, feared that Murat was acting a double part, and that, at the first opportunity, he might join the viceroy against him. Thus Murat, on the southern bank of the Po, was rather a check than a support to the operations of the Allies. The only thing he had effected in the common cause was to clear the Roman States and Tuscany of the few French troops stationed there, which he sent back to France. Bellegarde requested Murat to attack Piacenza and threaten Eugene on that side, while he should force the line of the Mincio, but Murat refused. The cabinet of Vienna meanwhile delayed the ratification of the treaty agreed upon between Count Neipperg and the Marquis del Gallo in January, 1814, by which the possession of his kingdom was guaranteed to Murat. The Neapolitan generals in Murat's army, who were attached to him personally, and were anxious for the safety of their country, seeing that his vacillation and ambiguity threatened the ruin of both, remonstrated with him, and urged him to act frankly and decidedly in concert with the Austrians. The soldiers seem to have been actuated by the same spirit; and we have heard, from persons who were at Modena at the time, that the Neapolitans would cry out, on seeing their king pass, "Viva Gioacchino! and death to the French!" And this they said to Murat, a Frenchman, having still many French officers and generals in his service.

Another incident added to the perplexities of that most confused epoch. The Pope, Pius VII., being released from his French confinement, arrived at Parma, on his way towards Rome. General Nugent, who commanded at Parma, received him with the utmost respect, and gave him an escort as far as the Neapolitan advanced posts, half-way between Parma and Reggio. Murat, who had occupied the Roman States, and who wished to keep them either all or in part, commissioned General Carascosa, who commanded the advanced guard, to go and meet the Pope,

and endeavour, by all means of persuasion, to prevail on him to turn back, or at least to stop at Reggio. The scene that took place is characteristic:—

"Hardly had Carascosa arrived at one end of the bridge on the Enza, where the outposts were placed, when the Pope appeared at the other extremity, coming from Parma, and escorted by an Austrian guard of honour, and followed by an innumerable crowd of people, which increased at every step. At the foot of the bridge, the Pope dismissed the Austrian escort with his blessing and thanks, and proceeded in his carriage without stopping. The Neapolitan officers and soldiers now confusedly joined the crowd, which was propelling the wheels in sign of reverence. Carascosa himself, turning his horse's head, followed, or rather was impelled along with the multitude; any attempt to stop the Pope being out of the question."

In this triumphal manner Pius VII. entered the town of Reggio. The Pope went to the Episcopal Palace, and Carascosa immediately solicited an audience, and was admitted. The general, after kissing the Pope's hand, asked him what were his holiness's intentions?—"To continue my way to Bologna."—"But his majesty, the King of Naples, is ignorant of your holiness's arrival; nothing has been prepared for your reception."—"I do not require anything of his majesty, on whom I invoke the divine favour."—"The post-horses on the road are engaged for the service of the army, and your holiness might be liable to be detained."—"I shall trust to the charity of these devout people who accompany me."—"But private horses have also been taken for the military service."—"Well, I shall proceed on foot, as long as God will give me strength." Carascosa was now silent a moment, and then asked Pius when he would receive the visit of the officers of the army. "To-morrow at nine o'clock, before I set off on my journey." Carascosa then kissed again the Pope's hand, took his leave, and hurried to the king at Bologna, to report to him the conversation word for word, advising him to yield to the power of opinion. Two of Murat's ministers entreated him to favour openly the Pope's cause, which appeared identified with that of the people; but Murat had not decision enough for this. The Pope, having arrived at Bologna, after some rest, went to visit the king, who returned the visit, and remained long closeted with Pius. The principal subject of conversation was the restitution of the Papal States, which were then occupied by the Neapolitan troops. After much debating, it was agreed that Rome and the provinces south of the Appennines should be delivered over to the Pope's authorities, and that Murat should retain, *pro tempore*, the northern provinces. In his treaty with Austria he had insisted upon having the Marches added definitively

to his kingdom of Naples. Another question was raised concerning the road which Pius was to follow. He was desirous of proceeding by the Romagna road; but Murat, fearing the influence of his presence on the minds of the people, whom he wished to consider as his subjects, endeavoured to induce him to take the route of Florence. But Pius was resolute, and Murat could not think of preventing him by force. Next day the Pope proceeded to Cesena, his birth-place, where he remained some time, and it was only on the 24th May following that he made his triumphal entry into Rome.

The Pope's passage being thus setled, Murat thought of the military operations. A corps of Eugene's troops, 14,000 strong, under General Grenier, attacked General Nugent near Parma, drove him away, and pushed its success as far as Reggio, close upon the line of the Neapolitan outposts. It was high time for Murat to decide on which side he was to fight. Colletta confirms what we had before heard, that just before that event Murat had made overtures to Eugene, and would have joined him; but Eugene, mistrusting him, or from old aversion to him, not only spurned his messengers, but found means to reveal Murat's double-dealing to the commissioners of the Allied Powers, who were in Joachim's camp. Murat then decided upon attacking Reggio; the Neapolitans fought heartily on the occasion, and Eugene's general, Severoli, was severely wounded in the action. Murat next forced the passage of the river Taro, and pursued the Italians and French as far as Piacenza. In these various affairs, the Neapolitan troops fought with spirit and success. While he was preparing to attack Piacenza, a messenger arrived with the news of the abdication of Napoleon. Murat, who was then conversing with Colletta in a field not far from the walls of the town, on reading the letters, turned pale, gave orders to suspend the operations, and soon after returned to Bologna.

The Allied Sovereigns charged Murat with faithlessness during the late campaign in Lombardy, and Talleyrand, the French minister at the Congress of Vienna, was hostile to him, and favourable to the claims of Ferdinand of Sicily. Meanwhile Murat entertained a secret correspondence with Buonaparte at Elba; he received and took into his service several political emigrants from the north of Italy; he would not restore the Marches to the Pope; and his consul at Rome was intriguing against the papal government. Thus began the year 1815. On the 4th of March, Murat received the news of Buonaparte's escape from Elba, at which he could not conceal his joy; yet the next day he wrote to the courts of Austria and England, promising to remain faithful to his alliance with them, whatever might be the fate of Napoleon. Colletta observes that there was deception in this,

for he had already made up his mind to march again into northern Italy. His idea was to conquer the whole peninsula, and then to treat with both France and Austria in order to retain possession of it. In vain some of his counsellors remonstrated against the hazardous experiment; he exaggerated his own resources, and trusted to the promises of a few partisans in the rest of Italy, who wrote that they had regiments ready to join him, of which regiments, however, not one ever made its appearance. On the 22d of March he rushed on to war and his own destruction.

"He had 35,000 men; ten of his twenty-five generals, and thirteen out of twenty-seven colonels, were Frenchmen, between whom and the Neapolitans there was but little harmony; the discipline was relaxed and not uniform; arms and ammunition were scarce; the commissariat far from trustworthy; the military chests almost empty: he calculated, like Napoleon, on maintaining his army at the expense of the countries he was going to occupy."

He issued a turgid proclamation to the Italians, in which he boasted of 80,000 Neapolitans, who were marching to assist in establishing the independence of Italy, and delivering it from foreigners; "but this proclamation," observes Colletta, "was signed by Murat and countersigned by his adjutant, Millet de Villeneuve, both Frenchmen." The appeal had no effect, except at Bologna, where some students volunteered in Murat's cause: at Milan, where the proclamation was allowed to circulate freely, together with Bellegarde's reply, it was read with great indifference; and we remember an Austrian officer in the theatre of La Scala, who was going next day to join the army against Murat, saying to some friends that it would be merely a "*promenade militaire.*" There was, however, some sharp fighting of divisions; the Neapolitans forced the passage of the Panaro, and pushed on as far as the Po, but were soon afterwards attacked and defeated by the Austrians at Carpi; and Murat, alarmed at the same time by the news of the hostile preparations in Sicily against his kingdom, and the advance of an Austrian division through Tuscany, resolved to fall back upon his own states. The battle of Tolentino, on the 2d and 3d of May, proved on the first day successful to the Neapolitans, who afterwards, through the mismanagement of some of their officers, sustained considerable loss. Murat continued his retreat, but, as soon as the troops reached their own frontiers, all discipline was at an end: the generals disobeyed their orders, and the soldiers dispersed and went home. On the 18th of May, Murat had no longer an army. He returned almost alone to Naples, and, on meeting his wife, exclaimed that "all was lost." His wife had meanwhile signed a convention with Admiral Campbell, and she secured her passage on board an

English ship for Trieste. She displayed great fortitude in this sudden emergency. Murat sent Carascosa and Colletta to the Austrian head-quarters to make the best terms they could for their country; he stipulated nothing for himself. The convention of Casalanza was signed on the 20th of May, and Naples again acknowledged its old King Ferdinand. On the following day, Murat sailed with a few friends for France. Driven thence after the battle of Waterloo, he repaired to Corsica; persecuted by the authorities there, and disdaining a life of quiet obscurity, instead of joining his wife and children in Austria, he made a desperate attempt, in October, 1815, on the coast of Calabria, which led to his tragical end, of which Colletta gives some interesting particulars. Murat intended to have landed at Salerno, where the remains of his old army were stationed.

"It was a fortunate thing for us," says Colletta, "that the weather prevented him, as the insurrection he would have excited, although it could not be successful, would have spread to some extent, and would have again plunged our country into civil war, followed by cruel reactions and proscriptions."

Murat landed at Pizzo, with only twenty-eight men, shouting "King Joachim for ever!" He was answered by a discharge of musketry from the assembled natives. It is a remarkable circumstance that a steward of the Duke of Infantado's, a Spanish grandee, well known in the war of Spain against Napoleon, and who is possessed of considerable estates in the neighbourhood of Pizzo, together with an old officer of King Ferdinand's, were the two persons who collected their friends and arrested Murat and his followers. Murat attempted to regain his vessel; but the master, a Maltese, whom he had in the time of his prosperity raised to the rank of captain in the navy, stood out to sea, leaving him to his fate. Murat was then seized, and, after being ill used by some of the mob, was shut up in a cell in the castle of Pizzo. General Nunziante, who commanded in Calabria for King Ferdinand, hastened to the spot, and, having recognized Murat, treated him with proper attention. "Nunziante was an old loyalist officer of Ferdinand's, and in this delicate circumstance he knew how to reconcile fidelity to his king with a feeling regard for his unfortunate and fallen enemy." An order was transmitted from Naples to try Murat by a court-martial. When Nunziante brought him the news, on the morning of the 13th of October—"I am a lost man," exclaimed Murat, "trial is in this case synonymous with death." He wrote to his wife and children, giving them his blessing, and entreating them to think no longer of what they had been, but to accommodate themselves to their altered condition. He refused the counsel that had been assigned to him,

saying that the court was incompetent to try him. "He was either a King or a Marshal of France, and could not be tried by subalterns." To Captain Stratti, who was on guard upon him, he observed that he had done much for the Neapolitans; that he had for them forgotten his own country, and had been ungrateful to the French and to his brother-in-law. And he added: "King Ferdinand now avenges by my death the tragedy of the Duke of Enghien, in which, however, I took no part; this I swear before God, in whose presence I am soon to appear." He then thanked the captain for the kindness he had shown him in his misfortunes. A priest, named Masdea, next entered.

"Sire," said he, "this is the second time that I address you. Five years ago, when your majesty came to Pizzo, I asked you for pecuniary assistance, in order to complete the building of our church, and you granted me more than I requested. My application having once found favour with you, I trust that I shall be as successful now in my anxious care for the eternal safety of your soul."

Murat acquiesced in the good priest's entreaty, and, after performing the rites of religion, he wrote, at Masdea's request, "*Je déclare que je meurs en bon Chrétien.* G. N." Meanwhile the court was proceeding with the trial in another room of the castle. Murat had landed in arms as a public enemy—had excited the people to revolt—had brought with him proclamations and a flag for the same object; he had upon him printed copies of a decree by which he ordered that all the ministers, officers, and other agents of Ferdinand, who should oppose his progress, were to be considered as rebels and traitors, and treated accordingly: which crimes are by the articles of the criminal code punished with death. The sentence being read to him, he heard it without remark. He was led to a small court of the castle, where a platoon of soldiers was formed; he refused to be blindfolded, and when the men made ready their arms: "Spare the face," he cried to them, "and aim at the heart;"—and immediately afterwards he fell, without a struggle, still holding in his hand the miniatures of his wife and children. They were buried with him in that very church to the erection of which he had contributed, and the priest Masdea performed the funeral service. Murat was in his forty-eighth year. He was born at Cahors, in France, of humble parents—entered the army at the beginning of the revolution—soon became a colonel—served with Buonaparte in Italy—was made successively General, Marshal, Grand Duke of Berg, and lastly King of Naples. He fought in hundreds of battles, and was never wounded. "He had the aspirations of a king, the head of a soldier, the heart of a friend. Ambitious and obstinate, he lost his kingdom through his ignorance of the art of government, which

he confounded with the art of war. The mode of his death excited universal compassion."

Previous to commencing the history of the restoration, which fills up the three last books of his work, our author gives a summary of the good and the evil effects which the ten years of French occupation had produced upon the social state of the kingdom of Naples. The *civil* laws, which in 1805 were scattered through hundreds of volumes, were now compressed into one coherent and wise civil code. The *criminal* code, which, before that, did not exist except in detached edicts and forensic customs, was likewise reduced to a fixed form and series of laws, however objectionable the latter might be, in some instances, on account of their too great severity, and the inequality between offences and punishments.

"It was not unbecoming to us to adopt the civil laws of France, founded, as they are, upon principles recognised by European civilization, and collected from the wisdom of both the ancients and moderns. But the *reason* of the penal laws must be looked for in the physical and moral nature of each country; the feelings and the sufferings of the various races of men differ greatly in their nature and intensity; the proportion of guilt attached to the same crime is not the same every where, any more than the degree of suffering inflicted by the same punishment; and, therefore, punishments which are requisite in one state of society are often either too harsh or too slight in another. The prodigality of the penalty of death in the French code was a consequence of twenty years of revolutions and wars, during which the life of man had been held of little value; the unjust award of confiscation was likewise derived from the habits of the French revolution, or rather from the avarice and cupidity of the revolutionists, and from the immense subversion of private and public fortunes. To the same causes may be traced the practice of placing individuals acquitted by the Courts under the *surveillance* of the police. The use of the pillory was likewise unfit for us; it was death to some, whilst, to others, it was only matter of indecent mirth."—vol. iii. pp. 76, 77.

The *code de procedure*, or form of legal proceedings in criminal matters, on the contrary, ought not to be subservient, like the penal laws, to times and countries; it ought to be derived from universal reason and judgment, and applicable alike to all times and places. The code of *procedure* which the Neapolitans received from France was, however, defective. There was no jury, and there were exceptional courts and magistrates, special and military tribunals, and police courts. Of these great abuse was made under the French, especially during Joseph's reign. But, on the other hand, one great improvement introduced by this code was the system of public and *viva voce* trials, instead of the former inquisitorial process and written depositions. This was the innovation which best pleased the Italians, for they felt

that it was a security for their persons against the influence of wealth and power, and against the indolence, ignorance, or corruption of the magistrates and judges.

"Among our Neapolitans, especially, a race naturally suspicious and restless, but deficient in political virtue, there ought to be one security of civil liberty, instead of the thousand securities which our modern innovators have devised, and that is *publicity*: every act of the government, whether civil, judicial, or political, ought to be public, and open to public investigation."—vol. iii. p. 79.

Another advantage of the new code consisted in the so-called correctional laws, which repressed and punished petty transgressions against persons and honour, such as assaults, defamation, offences against decency, all which were formerly overlooked, because the Spanish vice-regal government, the principle of feudality, and the divisions of *ceti* (castes) kept the lower classes in a state of complete personal degradation.

The code of proceedings in civil matters was too much encumbered with forms, which entailed considerable expense and delay on suitors; but the establishment of local courts, the regular succession of judgments and appeals, the independence of the judicial power recognised in principle, although by a law of Murat's, of 1812, the magistrates were not yet made permanent; the security given to property by a public registry of deeds and mortgages, and lastly, the institution of the Supreme Court of Cassation, the guardian and protector of the laws; all these were the advantages of the new code.

The civil and financial administration had also its courts; a *Council of Intendance* in each province, the *Royal Court of Accounts*, which revised the decisions of the provisional councils, and lastly, the *Council of State*, which was a court of appeal. The proceedings of these courts were different from those of the civil tribunals; the principle of Napoleon's administration being essentially despotic and unbending, and tending always to favour the interests of the treasury and crown domains, or, in other words, of the fisc.

The commercial code was liberally conceived. Courts were instituted consisting of commercial men, chosen by the body of merchants; frauds in trade, so common before at Naples, were strictly defined and punished; and suits speedily decided. The external or international part of the code, owing to the long maritime war, was never digested.

Such was the judicial system instituted during the ten years of French occupation, and, considering the confused and arbitrary state of things which it replaced, it must be regarded, notwith-

standing all its defects, as a great and essential benefit conferred by the conquerors on the country—magistrates in every *commune*, superior magistrates in every province, trials begun and terminated on the spot, an end put to secret practices, to tortures or threats, and to inquisitorial methods or suggestive examinations.

"And thus the immense mass of errors and vices of the old jurisprudence, the accumulation of eighteen centuries of national calamities, wars, invasions, and revolutions, disappeared for ever, and the law, which had formerly appeared to us merely an act of power, now assumed a character of benevolent protection; it no longer enjoined a blind obedience, but appealed to the reason and persuasion of the people."—vol. iii. p. 81.

The system of finances likewise underwent a thorough reform. The many old unequal taxes were abolished, and property and consumption became the bases of taxation. But this taxation was ruinous to the proprietors. A *catasto*, or inventory, of all the real property in the kingdom was begun, but never completed. The *fondiaria*, or land and house tax, was laid indiscriminately upon all property; it averaged 20 per cent. of the net income, and produced seven millions of ducats. The burden was heavy, and, through intrigue, or from the want of accurate information, was often unequally laid. The old tax on salt was converted into a government monopoly, and every individual was obliged to buy a certain quantity of it (5 *rotoli*) per year. This salt tax was the most obnoxious of all others to the Neapolitans, who, seeing Nature lavishing this valuable article around their coasts, and in many of their mountain streams, cursed the financial oppression which thus deprived them of her bounty. The public debt was acknowledged; the interest amounted to 800,000 ducats at the time of Murat's fall. A sinking fund had been established. All feudal rights and possessions were abolished, although not without many acts of injustice towards the old possessors. The *fidei-commissi* were suppressed, and property made free and divisible between the children, male and female. Of the convents, those which were possessed of property were closed, but the mendicant orders, from which nothing could be taken, were allowed to remain. And the once wealthy monks and nuns, who had a life-interest in the property of their order, who had given up their prospects in the world, and had devoted themselves to monastic life, when the laws and customs of society not only protected but encouraged, and in some cases compelled their choice, were now turned adrift upon a friendless and contemptuous world, with a scanty and ill-paid pittance, (in most cases about one shilling a day). Colletta himself acknowledges

that "this suppression of the monasteries was effected, not in a spirit of philosophy or sound policy, but under the direction of financial rapacity."—Vol. iii. p. 47.

His picture of the state of society, in all classes, is drawn with a masterly hand.

"Many of the magistrates were better informed, more just, more honest, than the former ones. The clergy had become worse in character and reputation; the conquest of Naples, in 1806, had introduced the principles and the licentiousness of French liberty, and the clergy, as the church became poor, looked for wealth far from the altar; they were less hypocritical, less artful, but more scandalous in their lives; the monks, when converted into secular priests, threw discredit upon the clergy in general. The old nobles were poor, and decayed; the new ones, unaccustomed to the patrician tone and manners, were more jealous of their power and wealth than of their rank; both classes were an ornament to, but not a support of, the monarchy: all privileges being abolished, the nobility became a class of landholders; their interests were no longer those of an order, but common to other proprietors. Of Murat's army, the soldiers remaining were few, as most of them had deserted, the officers many, the generals too many; and the spirit of all was restless, their language presumptuous, their craving for war and for honours had increased, while discipline and morality were relaxed. Ambitious men were accustomed to be rewarded for any services, and unscrupulous in seeking employment under any rulers. The lower orders had grown up among the dishonest profits of civil wars, and afterwards among the plunder of the feudal estates; they were now used to the enjoyment of equality, and were become covetous, restless, and ungovernable, unless by physical force. The old *prestige* which once surrounded the kingly person had vanished, since new men, like Joseph and Murat, had risen to that dignity before the eyes of the people; the blind veneration of our fathers was changed into a feeling of dread of the kingly power, while the former reverence for the king's acts had become mixed up with calculation; a moral change, fruitful of other results. The nation, tossed, as it had been for twenty years, in a sea of strange vicissitudes, bore in mind the unjust persecutions of 1793, the proscriptions of 1799, the despotism of the following years, the deceptions of modern liberty, the rapacity and insolence of foreign armies, the impotence of its own troops. It remembered the broken promises, the perjured oaths, the arts practised, either to extract money, or to favour the views of power. It perceived that kings, both old and new, were equally careless of the sentiments of the people; that the old relied on legitimacy, and the new on military force. But now both were alike broken; the real Bourbonists or Muratists were few; and the greater part of thinking men were *Carbonari*, or liberals, not displeased at Murat's fall, but watchful and suspicious of the conduct of his successor." —vol. iv. pp. 4, 5.

Ferdinand, in his addresses to the Neapolitans, dated from Sicily in May, 1815, promised peace and oblivion of the past.

He promised to maintain the civil institutions established during his absence; he recognized the political equality of all his subjects; he confirmed the rank, honours, and pensions, of those who had served the late government; the sales of national property; and the amount of the national debt. And he kept his word. No one was molested for his past political conduct. The impartiality shown towards the officers who had returned from Sicily, as well as towards those who had served with Murat, was carried to an extreme which appeared ingratitude to the former; and we remember hearing bitter complaints from some of them at the time. The French codes were maintained, with few modifications. Ferdinand confirmed the system of administration established by Murat; and yet, with all this, he did not succeed in giving general satisfaction. His conduct was the very reverse of that of his nephew, Ferdinand of Spain; and yet, a few years after, revolutions broke out alike against both.

What was the condition of Naples in 1819? Ferdinand had, up to that time, retained, with slight alterations, all the institutions adopted during the ten years of French domination, the codes, the equal administration of justice: the taxes were equally distributed; the civil administration was orderly, strict, and judicious; the police was not arbitrary, as in the old times of the monarchy; the bands in the provinces had been put down; the country enjoyed peace; the judicial power was independent; the ministers of the king, and the officers of the revenue, were subject to a public inspection; and, lastly, there were communal and municipal councils, provincial councils, and a chancellery; all assemblies of citizens and magistrates, for the purpose of promoting the common weal. These institutions, observes Colletta, acting together under the form of a mild, though nominally absolute, monarchy, constituted, in fact, a practical constitution which might be called one of freedom. The treasury was full, public credit good, works of improvement and embellishment were carrying on, the state was prosperous, the rulers benevolent, the present was happy, and there was a prospect of a happier futurity. Naples was among the best-governed kingdoms in Europe; it had adopted most of the new liberal ideas; it seemed to have gained the largest share of the benefit accruing from all the changes that had distracted Europe for a quarter of a century.

"Whence, then, the sudden discontent of the subjects? whence the tumults of the subsequent rebellion? What was wanting to the public satisfaction? It wanted persuasion, the confidence of the people in the good intentions of their rulers. Where that confidence exists, even injustice is easily tolerated; where it is wanting, justice itself becomes an object of suspicion. That confidence had been destroyed by the

atrocities of 1799, by the simulations and uncertainties of the restoration, by the personal history of the king, by the intrigues of his ministers, by a commonly received opinion of their weakness and incapacity. The social body was flourishing, and yet, strange to say, the head was withering. The liberals were tormented by the fear that the good laws might fall into desuetude, that the moderate monarchy might return to absolutism; they trembled for their persons, and the purchasers of national domains trembled for their property. It was not any real ground of complaint, but it was suspicion that brought about the revolution of 1820."—p. 98.

With slight alteration these remarks might apply equally well to the state of France under Charles X. It is a consequence of all revolutions effected by bloodshed and violence, and attended by a disruption of the social bond, that they destroy for a long time afterwards all confidence between the people and their governors, whoever these may be; and this moral consequence, though generally less noticed, is more fatal to the tranquillity of a nation than even the material mischief attending the convulsion.

There was in the king and his ministers a feeling of half-smothered aversion for what had been done, whether of good or evil, under the French occupation; their words spoke one thing, but their hearts meant another, and their measures, under the influence of these two opposite impulses, gave a jarring discordant motion to the social machine. Several imprudent acts of the government, though in minor matters, which Colletta notices at length, had brought that feeling to light, and the disaffected of course exaggerated their own suspicions, and excited those of others. The two sections of the army, Sicilian and Muratist, were jealous of each other; mutual taunts passed between them, and not all the benignity of the king could reconcile them. The king had individually shown favour to some of his old Sicilian officers, which was natural enough; but the jealous eye of partisanship overlooks nothing, and forgives no preference shown to an adversary. But the great, the principal, engine at work during the five years that passed between the restoration and the revolution of 1820, was the political sect of the Carbonari. Colletta gives a full account of this famed society. The origin of the Carbonari is attributed by some to the old associations of the *Charbonniers* (charrers or charcoal-burners) and *Fendeurs*, or hewers, which were formed at different times in the Jura mountains, in the Vosges, in the Netherlands, and in Germany. A vast tract in the Ardennes was called the Carbonarian forest. Men employed in cutting wood and making charcoal, in the vast forests and wild mountain tracts of those regions, joined in common bonds for mutual assistance and protection against robbers and other ene-

mies, as well as against the oppression of the forest laws and their officers or foresters, which in Germany especially gave rise to frequent revolts of the peasantry. The Charbonniers adopted conventional signs known only to themselves. Important services rendered to the members of the association procured at times for persons of other professions, and of higher rank in society, admission into the order; and it is even asserted that several members of the French parliament, when dissatisfied with the court, were enrolled in it between the years 1770 and 1790.* In a curious book published at Paris in 1815, on the Secret Societies formed against Napoleon's Government, there is an account, apparently authentic, of the origin and the objects of the society of the Charbonniers, or Bucherons, which had long existed in the French department of the Jura, and was called by the members *Le bon Cousinage* (good cousinship), and which was actively employed for political objects during Buonaparte's reign. In Italy, in the Apennines of Genoa, the Charrers had also a sort of confederacy, though not of a political nature, for their mutual protection. A lively description of the existence and habits of these people is given in the Italian novel *La Fidanzata Ligure.*

Having premised thus much concerning the remote origin of the association, we now proceed to its introduction into the kingdom of Naples. Colletta attributes it to some Neapolitan emigrants, who left their country from political motives towards the beginning of the French revolution, and in their travels through France and Germany became initiated in the mysteries of the sect, which, like all other secret societies, had at that time assumed a political character; and who, on their return to Naples, formed a branch society in that kingdom, where, however, it remained for years unnoticed and powerless. Others have attributed its importation to a Neapolitan officer whose name is unknown, and who had served some time in Spain. It is well known that ever since the first French invasion of Italy under General Buonaparte, and his shameful betrayal of the republic of Venice, great dissatisfaction against the French prevailed among some of the Italian patriots, who had at first with credulous enthusiasm embraced the cause of the revolution, and had zealously assisted the invaders, conceiving that they were thus promoting the independence of their country. When they saw that they were mere tools in the hands of the conquerors, that their country was plundered without mercy, that the people, and not the old sovereigns or nobles, were the greatest sufferers by the change, these Italian patriots, more sincere than the crowd of blind or servile partisans of Napoleon,

* See Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy. London, Murray, 1821.

looked forward to some favourable opportunity of getting rid of the French, as they had already thrown off their own old absolute governments. This feeling gave rise to various secret associations in different parts of Italy. The Carbonari were one of these societies. In 1811, some of the sect applied to Maghella, who was then Director-General of the Police of Naples, representing to him that the Carbonari might be made a useful instrument in gaining over the lower classes, especially in the provinces, to the new institutions of the kingdom, and weaning them altogether from their old sympathy for Ferdinand of Sicily, and in creating a spirit of nationality favourable to Murat's dynasty. Maghella, a man of obscure origin, had been a revolutionist in his native country, Genoa: he afterwards became the friend of Saliceti, and accompanied him to Naples under Joseph Buonaparte. He was Saliceti's confidential agent in the police of Naples, some say his secret enemy. After Salicetti's sudden death, he became his successor as Director of the Police. He was well versed in all the intrigues of the various parties, and was himself a person of daring and unscrupulous character. Knowing that Murat had become really attached to the country which he governed, and that he bore impatiently the yoke of his imperious brother-in-law, he conceived that Murat might be made the instrument of restoring the national independence, and that every thing which strengthened Murat's government in the opinion of the people would tend ultimately to favour the emancipation of Italy from the French or any other foreign yoke. He therefore represented the sect to Murat in a favourable light, and, having obtained his consent, he allowed the Carbonari to organize their society, and hold their meetings under the protection of the police, by whom many of its members were soon afterwards employed. The sect spread rapidly, and in a short time there was hardly a public office in any branch of the administration that had not some Carbonari in it. The government of Eugene, in the north of Italy, being more dependent on, and more subservient to, Napoleon than that of Naples, was informed of the progress which the Carbonari were making in the kingdom of Naples. Maghella was already an object of suspicion to Napoleon's police. Under the pretence that he was a native of Genoa, and therefore a French subject, he was claimed by Napoleon, and Murat was obliged to send him to Paris, where he remained under *surveillance* until 1813, when he contrived to escape, and returned to Naples. About the time that Maghella was sent away from Naples, Murat received a letter from Dandolo, Councillor of State of the kingdom of Italy, (the same who had acted a conspicuous part in the revolution of his native country, Venice,) in which he was warned against the

Carbonari, who were fast spreading throughout Italy, and who Dandolo said, "were the enemies of every throne." This warning, however, produced no immediate change in Murat's policy. He at that epoch entertained secret views of raising the standard of independence over all Italy, a scheme which his wife contrived to avert for the moment, by persuading him to join once more Napoleon's army in Germany. The Carbonari, who had been favourable to those views, now became objects of suspicion and hostility to the Napoleon party at Naples. It seems to have been about this time, 1813, that the Carbonari turned their attention towards Sicily, and its new constitution, established by the influence of the English.*

"The Sicilian government and the English agents in Sicily entered into correspondence with the Carbonari of Naples; they forwarded to them copies of the Sicilian constitution, and of the laws promulgated under it, dwelling on the altered politics of King Ferdinand, and promising similar institutions to the continental kingdom, when once restored to the Bourbons. Murat's police, having discovered these secret intelligences, proscribed the Carbonari, arrested many of them, and instituted courts-martial to try them."—vol. iii. p. 197.

The great strength of the Carbonari lay in the province of Calabria. General Manhes, known for his former extermination of the insurgents in 1810, was entrusted with the task of extirpating the Carbonari. The sect was persecuted without mercy, in the true spirit of Napoleon's system. Numerous adepts were put to death. One of the leaders, Capobianco by name, a bold young man, one of the principal citizens of his native town, and as such captain in the local militia, being too powerful to be safely arrested in his stronghold, was led into a snare. Under the appearance of his being totally unsuspected by the government, he was invited by a friendly letter from the commandant of the province to a public dinner, which was to be given at Cosenza on the occasion of some festival, and to which other officers of the militia, and the principal authorities, were likewise invited. Capobianco went, dined with the general and the other numerous guests, but, on retiring after dinner, he was arrested by the gens-d'armes, brought before a military court, sentenced, and beheaded the next day in the square of Cosenza. Many of the Carbonari fled to Sicily to escape the tyranny of Murat's government, and to breathe, strange as it may sound, the air of liberty under the

* Botta states, and we believe not without reason, that the Carbonari had been already implicated in the former insurrection of Calabria, in the years 1808—1810, against the French, though not exactly in favour of Ferdinand; that they had proclaimed a republic at Catanzaro, and that Prince Moliterno and Capobianco were then at their head. See Botta, *Storia d'Italia dal* 1789 *al* 1814, books xxiii. xxiv.

old dynasty; and certainly the characters of the two dynasties seemed now reversed. Ferdinand appeared the more just and merciful of the two rival kings. The violence and vigour which Murat's government had formerly displayed against the insurgents and brigands were now enforced against the sect of the Carbonari, but with this difference, that the old insurgents committed crimes, while the sect demanded good laws. The sect has since degenerated, but at that time it was immaculate; it had come into the kingdom at the request of Murat's own government; its rites and its objects were then benevolent and liberal. Many of Murat's friends, who did not belong to the sect, strongly disapproved of its cruel persecution.—pp. 198, 199.

In the following year, 1814, while Murat was with his army at Bologna, the Carbonari of Abruzzo broke into open insurrection, and proclaimed Ferdinand as Constitutional King. The whole province of Teramo revolted; the magistrates were removed and new ones substituted, but without any violence or disorder. Murat, however, sent troops and issued decrees; the revolt was easily put down, and the French general, Montigny, had the charge of prosecuting the leaders. Many deaths, many sufferings, tears and sorrows of families, saddened the Abruzzi as well as Calabria.

The fall of Murat, in 1815, was, as might be expected, a subject of rejoicing to the Carbonari, who, having met with encouragement and support in Sicily from Ferdinand's government, anticipated equal favour from it at Naples. But Ferdinand, after his restoration, mistrusted them; the Sicilian constitution itself was suppressed, and the Prince of Canosa, well known for his furious absolutism, being made minister of police in 1816, encouraged an opposite sect, called *Calderari*, or "braziers," which he recruited from the ranks of the old insurgents and brigands of 1799 and following years. His idea was to put down the Carbonari by means of the Calderari, and he was thus very near involving the whole kingdom in a dreadful social war; when the king, being informed of the illegal conduct of his minister, and the ambassadors of Austria and Russia having remonstrated against such dangerous practices, Canosa was dismissed, and he left the country. The Carbonari, however, were now openly denounced by the government, and their meetings prohibited. Pope Pius VII., also, after his return to Rome, excommunicated them, and having, in 1817, discovered an extensive plan of revolt at Macerata, Ancona, and other parts of the Papal states, which had been arranged by the Carbonari of Romagna and the Marches, a trial was instituted at Macerata, and sentence of death pronounced in October, 1818, against five of the leaders,

which sentence the Pope commuted into one of perpetual imprisonment.* The Carbonari of Naples now shrank from public notice, and ceased to hold their assemblies. There were thousands of these sectarians in the kingdom, but there was no organized sect. Frequent personal quarrels occurred in the provinces between men who stigmatized each other with the names of *Calderari* and *Carbonari;* accusations and imprisonments, murders, and other acts of violence, ensued; the seed sown by Canosa's imprudence had found a proper soil in the fiery temperament and tenacious passions of those wild and secluded populations.

"The Carbonari became irritated, revengeful, and sanguinary; the sect degenerated, and from being speculative it became active, and in the common danger of its members having discovered its own strength, it was no longer satisfied with remaining on the defensive, but turned assailant, and dark crimes were concerted at its meetings. As deeds of wickedness require wicked instruments, the most unprincipled characters, even from the opposite faction, were induced to join the ranks of the Carbonari. Crime became a title to initiation; the sect thus corrupted, not content with meddling in public affairs, fostered private passions, and through private hatred, jealousy and revenge, much blood was spilt both of the guilty and the innocent."—vol. iv. p. 93.

The provinces of Puglia, and that of Lecce in particular, were, during the year 1817, desolated by the outrages of the sects which, under the various names of *Carbonari, Calderari, Decisi, European Patriots,* and *Philadelphi,* exercised club-law over those unfortunate districts. The famous banditti chiefs Vardarelli called themselves Carbonari. The priest, Ciro Annichiarico, at the head of several hundred Decisi, the most sanguinary and determined sect of all, was the terror of the province of Lecce. General Church was sent with 1200 men, in July, 1817, to put down these bands. It was a regular campaign. Ciro defended himself in the village of San Marsano, and afterwards shut himself up in a large Apulian farm at Scaserba, where he sustained a regular siege against several companies of soldiers. He was taken at last, and executed on the 8th of February, 1818. Of his band 227 were brought to trial, and about half of them executed. It was not till September, 1818, that the province of Lecce was again pacified. The trial of Ciro Annichiarico brought to light a number of atrocities committed by the sect of the Decisi. Ciro's career of guilt began in 1803,

* The report of the proceedings of this celebrated trial was printed at Rome, and an extract from them is given in the Appendix to the above-mentioned Memoirs *of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy,* p. 172—193. The plan of these Roman Carbonari appears to have been sanguinary and atrocious.

by a murder from jealousy, and on his last examination he acknowledged that he had killed between sixty and seventy persons with his own hand, and three of his companions confessed to about forty more. The *Decisi* had for their symbols a thunderbolt darting from a cloud, and striking the crowns and the tiara; the fasces and the cap of liberty upon a death's head between two axes, &c. Their tricolour was yellow, red, and blue. They passed sentence of death upon any persons obnoxious to them, and the mandate was fearlessly executed by some of the brethren. They levied forced contributions of money or provisions, which few dared refuse. They called the province of Lecce "the Salentine republic, a link of the great European republic." In its ranks were included priests, canons, and monks, who, although they themselves laughed at religion, yet performed mass before their more credulous followers. It has been an old remark, in France, Italy, and Spain, that apostate priests have proved the worst of revolutionists, and the most remorseless instruments of faction, whether for the king or for liberty, for the old or the new governments.

The severity of the government, though successful in Puglia against one outrageous band, was powerless against the other numerous sects, or divisions of sects, which were spread all over the kingdom. The Carbonari, who may be considered the parent stock of all, had grown too strong; they frightened the prosecutors; witnesses prevaricated; the judges were intimidated, or seduced; and impunity was insured to the adepts. This being once ascertained, every man who was afraid of judicial pursuits, no matter for what offence, or who meditated some future act of violence, hastened to enrol himself among the sectarians; the prisons became *vendite*, or lodges, and the Calderari themselves, perceiving greater security in the opposite faction, joined it; all those who were haunted by an evil conscience became Carbonari.

"Such," observes Colletta, "were the Carbonari in the year 1818, at which time the army, divided in opinions and feeling between Bourbonists and Muratists, being moreover badly organized, ill paid, and worse disciplined, appeared to the sect a proper element for propagandism. The sectarians laboured sedulously to seduce the subalterns; none of the generals, or at most but one, became adepts, and few of the field-officers. The provincial militia, officers and privates, were all sectarians. Nor were the clergy free from the contagion. Religion was fallen: modern philosophy had weakened the belief in some of its doctrines and a licentious morality had swept away the rest; nothing remained but mere rites and ceremonies. Confession was looked upon as the means of settling an old score of sins in order to begin anew; it had become an act of penitence, and not of repentance, as it ought to have been; prayers were repeated with the lips, but not with the heart; alms were given mechanically, and through habit or vanity, not

from real charity; religion in short was reduced to mere superstition, or what is worse, to hypocrisy and deceit."—p. 94.

At the beginning of 1819, the society of Carbonari was composed of daring and active men, much fitter to overthrow existing institutions than to found new ones; but towards the end of the same year it received an important accession of strength of a different kind. Men of influence and intelligence, who had hitherto kept aloof from a disorderly association, being now convinced of the power of the sect, and aware of the weakness of the government, hastened to join the former, regarding it as a means either of protecting their property in the convulsion which they saw was at hand, or of acquiring power in the new order of things which might ensue. The Carbonari, having thus added the influence of wealth and of talent to that of numbers, became stronger than the government.

"I often wondered," says Colletta, "within myself, during the five years that elapsed from the restoration to the revolution of 1820, at the supineness of those who were then at the helm of the state, and who must have known what was going on. Was this supineness the result of indolence, of fear, or of political necessity? I afterwards discovered it to have been the result of the old system of politics, which was once looked upon as consummate wisdom, and which consisted in not grappling with opinions, but sometimes reprobating, sometimes tolerating, now yielding and now resisting, until the opinions and sects became contemptible and worn out. Such was the wisdom of our ministers, old in age and in doctrines. But times were changed. The Carbonari, in the eighteenth century, were a mere theoretical sect, because it was kept in check by the remains of feudality and of Catholicism; but now, in the nineteenth, being assisted by the passions and aspirations of the times, it was more than a sect, it became a power in the state. . . . . I shall say nothing here of its rites, its vows, its emblems, and degrees, because the spirit and substance of political associations consist not in their external forms and pageants, but in the interests of the men who compose them. We shall, therefore, sufficiently understand the meaning of this sect, if we consider the Carbonari as the lower class of society, who, having rallied round the principle of civil equality, move forward *en masse*, pressing against the higher ranks; an impulse which, in a virtuous and moral community, tends to establish popular and democratic institutions, but, in the corrupt and profligate societies of our days, serves no other purpose than as an instrument for seizing upon power and wealth, under the formularies and the language of democracy."—vol. iv. p. 96.

The news of the revolution of Cadiz, at the beginning of 1820, produced a great sensation at Naples, as the example of Spain was of great weight with the Neapolitans, from the old connections and sympathy existing between the two countries. The revolution of Spain was effected at first without bloodshed, and

this was another argument in its favour with the Neapolitans, anxious for political improvement, but still more anxious, from the sad experience of past convulsions, about the security of their persons and property.

"Had the revolution appeared with its usual train of evils and dangers, I really believe that our sectarians and liberals would have rejected it at once.....The Carbonari were now busier than ever; their numbers increased rapidly, especially among the military. The boasted heroism of Riego and Quiroga had weakened in the consciences of military men the sentiment of the sacredness of their oaths; perjury was represented as a virtue."—p. 100.

The almost open machinations of the Carbonari, their avowed design of obtaining a constitutional government, their extensive correspondence throughout the kingdom, their vast accession of numbers, all these things were known to the police and to the Neapolitan ministers, who, strange to say, wasted several months without doing anything for the purpose of averting the storm. They were averse to soliciting the return of the Austrian troops, which had two years before been withdrawn at their own request; they durst not grant a constitution, on account of a secret article of the treaty with Austria; they were unwilling to take strong measures against the Carbonari, because the minister Medici had always assured the king that the sect was contemptible and by no means to be feared. Meanwhile nothing was done, and the conspiracy advanced apace, almost in broad day-light. In the first number of a journal published at Naples soon after the revolution, and called *L'Amico della Costituzione*, it was stated, that in the preceding month of March alone the number of Carbonari enrolled on the registers amounted to 642,000. "The society of the Carbonari was the focus of discontent, not because it propogated sentiments inimical to the government, but because all those whose opinions were hostile to the government had become Carbonari." They applied themselves especially to make proselytes among the lower orders, among menials, Lazzaroni, and fishermen, by representing to them the sect as a religious one;—for it had a double character,—and of course the lower degrees were kept in ignorance of the ulterior objects of the masters. The boldness of the Carbonari having become too barefaced, the police towards the end of May, 1820, was in a manner obliged to arrest some individuals. The organization of the conspiracy however proceeded at Salerno, Nocera, Nola, Avellino, Aversa, and in all the provinces nearer to the capital. Several regiments were won over. Still the leaders hesitated to give the signal. At last two subalterns of cavalry took the task upon themselves. On the morning of the 2d of July, 1820, Morelli and Silvati,

second lieutenants of the regiment Reale Borbone, with 127 soldiers and serjeants, left their quarters at Nola, together with the priest Menichini, and about twenty Carbonari civilians, and took the road to Avellino, where the sect was strong, and whither other Carbonari from Salerno had repaired on the preceding day. As this band moved along the road and through the villages, meeting the country-people who were proceeding to market or to their labours in the fields, they shouted—"God, the King, and the Constitution for ever!" The meaning of the word constitution was not well understood by the hearers, and not much better by the promulgators themselves, but every one interpreted it according to his own wishes; the farmers expected a reduction of the land-tax, the liberals liberty, the good expected good results, the ambitious looked for power, and the unmeaning cry of the deserters was answered by the *evviva* of the bewildered multitude. Revolutions require a word, however false, which flatters the general interests: for if the furies of civil strife were to show themselves in their nakedness, they would find but few admirers or followers.—p. 105.

Morelli encamped at Mercogliano, whence he wrote to Colonel De Concilj, who commanded at Avellino, a wealthy and influential man in that his native town, inviting him to join the constitutional cause, and to assume the command. De Concilj hesitated. The news reached Naples the same morning; the minister at war ordered General William Pepe to proceed to Avellino and put down the insurrection; but the king's council disapproving the choice, Pepe was countermanded, and this appearance of mistrust served to awaken his own suspicions. General Carascosa was ordered next, but a whole valuable day was thus lost. De Concilj, seeing the weakness of the government, then declared himself, and on the 3d of July proclaimed the constitutional king at Avellino, collected partisans from every quarter, and formed a camp on the heights of Monteforte, on the road towards Naples. Carascosa on arriving at Nola found that he could proceed no farther, having only 600 men under him; while General Nunziante was at Nocera with a larger force, and General Campana at Salerno. Neither of the three columns was of sufficient strength to force the insurgent position at Monteforte, but the three together would have been more than adequate. The government, however, was afraid to unite them, and thus, each of the generals acting separately and without support from the others, all of them failed. Desertion spread among their troops. On the 5th, a whole regiment of cavalry stationed at Nocera set off with colours flying, in the middle of the day, and went over to the insurgents. Other regiments declared that they would not fight

against the Constitutionalists. Mutiny became infectious, as it always happens when it is not immediately repressed. General Nunziante himself, an old tried royalist, wrote to the king that it was in vain to oppose the cry for the constitution which was spreading everywhere, and advised his majesty to grant it. Carascosa had still some hopes of succeeding by negociation, on the failure of which he had fixed the morning of the 6th to attack the insurgents. On the night, however, between the 5th and the 6th, General Pepe, who had remained at Naples, being told by some Carbonari that an order had been issued for his arrest, left the capital in company with another general, and they induced a regiment of cavalry and several companies of infantry to follow them and join the insurgents. The report of this new defection soon spread through Naples. Five Carbonari went in the middle of the night to the king's palace, saying to the guards that they were public envoys sent to speak to the king on matters of state. At any other time such a piece of presumption would have cost the intruders dear, but in the moment of general alarm a domestic took in the message, and the Duke of Ascoli, the king's confidential chamberlain, came out. "We are delegates sent to the king to say that the peace of the capital cannot be maintained unless his majesty grants the wished-for constitution. The Carbonari and the citizens are in arms and waiting for an answer." The duke went in to the king, and returned with the answer that his majesty had already resolved upon granting a constitution, and that he was now consulting with his ministers upon the subject. One of the five then said, "When will it be promulgated?" "Immediately." "That is to say?" "Within two hours," answered Ascoli, thus taken by surprise. Then another of the delegates, stepping up to the duke, without saying a word, unceremoniously seized the chain of the duke's watch, pulled it out, and pointing to the hand which marked one o'clock, "At three," said he, "the constitution shall be proclaimed." He then returned the watch to the astonished duke, and went away with his companions. This man was Piccoletti, Ascoli's son-in-law.—p. 114.

Three of the ministers were closeted with the king and his son the Duke of Calabria. Those ministers, presumptuous in security, now disheartened in adversity, urged the king to yield to necessity; and, while Ferdinand, more firm, and perhaps more clear-sighted, resisted, they insisted and intimidated him. The old Marquis Circello was the most pressing. Ferdinand yielded at last, and issued an edict, dated the 6th of July, promising a constitutional government, the basis of which should be promulgated within eight days. At the same time he ordered all the

troops to return to their quarters. The edict reached Carascosa while he was preparing to attack the insurgents. The troops that had remained faithful returned to Naples shouting like the rest—"The constitution for ever!" but the insurgents kept their position at Monteforte.

The Carbonari, however, did not trust the delay of eight days; they said that eight days were too few to frame a new constitution, and too many to adopt one of those already existing in Europe; and that as the king, in his quality of Infante of Spain, had acknowledged the constitution of that kingdom framed by the Cortes in 1812, it was better to promulgate at once the same for Naples. The cry was now for the Constitution of Spain, and the capital was again in an uproar. The Duke of Calabria, whom his father had entrusted with the direction of affairs, assembled a council in haste on the evening of the 6th. One of councillors, whom we suspect to have been Colletta himself, being asked by the prince for his opinion, advised, as all means of resistance had been neglected or abandoned, to grant at once the Constitution of the Cortes. "But," observed the prince, "is this Spanish Constitution after all suited to the Neapolitan people?" "It were vain to discuss that point here," replied the speaker, "the question is how to stop the revolution, and not to inquire about the motives of it. Those who cry loudest for the constitution of Spain do not themselves understand the political meaning of it; it is a dogma for them; any other constitution, were it better suited, were it even more democratic, would not satisfy them now." The same evening the Constitution of the Cortes was promulgated. The elections of the deputies to the parliament, a thing totally new in Naples, fell mostly upon men of respectable character, and, strange as it may appear, few Carbonari were among the number.

On the 1st of October, the parliament was opened by the king in person. The eyes of all were fixed upon the assembly, in order to scrutinize the sentiments of its members; it was soon reviled by men of both extremes, the absolutists calling it an assembly of demagogues, and the liberals accusing it of servility. The ministers thought it too restive; the demagogues charged it with being too ministerial. These censures taken together constituted an eulogium. The style of speaking was often turgid and declamatory, like that of men unused to the practice of liberty. Many of the deputies fancied that mistrust of and opposition to ministers was the first duty of a representative. The public, new to all this, often mistook the crude or exaggerated sentences of one deputy for the opinion of the whole house. One of the first acts of the parliament was to change the names of the provinces,

as the republicans had done in 1799, and there appeared again the classic names of the Marsi, Samnites, Hirpini, Lucanians, &c.

"Other innovations were daily proposed, all agreeable to the multitude, because new things please new men, and it is for this reason that the most difficult, as well as the wisest, task in revolutions is to do little and gradually. They wanted to change not only the political, but the whole social edifice.... The communal and provincial administration was dissolved; the directors of the forests, of the roads and bridges, of the crown or national lands, of the custom-houses, all were threatened with the same fate; every thing was to be remodelled; new systems of judicature and finances were broached at one and the same time. The hurry of innovation was destroying the work of many years of reflection, labour, and mature counsel. The rage for novelty was encouraged by the noisy applause of the galleries."—pp. 156, 157.

Are we reading the history of the first French or of the Cisalpine legislative assemblies, or that of the Spanish Cortes of 1820–3, or of those of Portugal of the same period? It is the history of all popular assemblies new to the practice of liberty. It is this hurry of doing every thing at once, this love of abstractions, this eagerness for popular applause, that has proved the bane and the ruin of all democratic assemblies in Europe. The idea of trusting to such an assembly, single and uncontrolled, the whole destinies of a nation, seems little short of insanity.

Meanwhile the Carbonari were not idle:—

"They extended their proselytism wider and wider; all who felt ambition or fear applied to become adepts, and the sect received all. Every public office or judicial administration, every regiment, every ship of war, had its *vendita*. In the regiments two opposite gradations of rank were formed—a colonel first in the field was often lowest in the vendita, and a non-commissioned officer was above him in sectarian dignity. Their respective duties and engagements clashed, and the destruction of all discipline was the result. The partisans of the Carbonari, totally ignorant of the art of war, extolled the enthusiasm of the sectarian soldiers, forgetting that impetuous passions seldom give birth to any prodigy, but in most cases lead to ruin, and that military ardour without discipline degenerates into confusion. In their nightly meetings the acts and the opinions of the generals were scrutinized, and according to the custom of vulgar societies some were stigmatized as traitors, or as enemies to liberty; the generals felt offended and became suspicious. The police, however, contrived to introduce itself among the sect, so as to control or influence its movements."

We have not space to enter into an account of the revolt of Palermo, which forms an important episode in the history of the Neapolitan revolution. The people of Palermo wanted a "Repeal of the Union" and a "Domestic Parliament." Messina and other towns of Sicily were in favour of the union with Naples.

The insurgents of Palermo, after committing many excesses, were put down by force of arms.

The foreign relations of Naples presented the greatest difficulties to the new government. Colletta treats this part of his subject with soberness and impartiality, and as a man of experience in the affairs of the world. He does not lay much stress on the absolute principle of non-interference, considering it, in its abstract sense, as inapplicable to the present state of European society, and as having been repeatedly infringed even by those who first proclaimed it. But interference can only be excused on the plea of self-preservation, and even then, it ought to assume the character of impartial mediation, and not to be all in favour of one side. Colletta acknowledges that the old monarchies of Europe, and Austria in particular, had some reason for alarm at the turn affairs were taking at Naples, yet they were anxious to avoid open war.

"The liberals of Europe, while applauding the Neapolitan revolution, and defending its maxims, threatened the security of other thrones; many Italians, several Frenchmen, some Prussians, one Russian, two Englishmen of some name, stepped forth as the champions of Neapolitan liberty, and offered to form regiments of foreign voluntcers; banking houses in London and Paris contracted loans for us; foreign generals gave their advice on the defence of the country and the mode of organizing a resistance of the whole population, &c. This, which may be styled a political crusade, gave uneasiness to the monarchs, especially when the nature of the Neapolitan revolution, free from bloodshed or violence, was considered. The military stain of the 127 deserters from Nola had, through success and the public applause, been turned into a meritorious and glorious act; other armies might follow the example, other governments felt tottering, the change might spread to all Europe. The sovereigns, therefore, wished, if possible, to save their monarchies without resorting to hostilities, by rendering the constitution of Naples more conformable to those already existing in other parts of Europe, thus avoiding scandal and the danger of imitation. France, which was most interested in the preservation of peace, was willing to interpose its mediation, provided the Neapolitan government, by introducing certain reforms in the constitution, should calm the reasonable apprehensions of foreign powers. This proffered mediation was well-timed, and might have maintained peace; the means were also practicable, as our parliament was then discussing the subject of reforms in the constitution. But the Carbonari vociferated and threatened, and General Pepe, trusting to the muster-rolls and to the boastings of the sect, was favourable to war, and looked upon peace by mediation as humiliating and mischievous. The parliament was divided into three parties: one of the violent liberals, strong in number, and stronger still through the vociferations of the popular galleries, but destitute of talent or eloquence; another party consisted of men who looked anxiously to the future, who were well disposed, but timid and silent, powerless in debate, but very

powerful by their votes, being the most numerous of the three; the last party was that of the moderate liberals, but foremost in eloquence and talent. Poerio, Borelli, Galdi, Nicolai, Dragonetti, belonged to this last class. But, in the debates, the terror of the Carbonari prevailed, as no deputy dared to encounter the passions, however intemperate, of the sect. Therefore, the speeches of the deputies on abstract matters sounded lofty, independent, and generous, but, on practical subjects, they were low and servile towards the people. Hence it followed, that the mediation of France was rejected, that the reforms introduced into the constitution, borrowed from Spain, instead of rendering it more congenial to the spirit of monarchy, removed it still further from it, and that other and more serious errors were committed, which rendered all negociation impossible, and war unavoidable. The reforms proposed by the parliament to the king were three; i. e. the number of deputies to be increased by two-fifths, that of the council of state to be reduced by two-fifths, and the councillors to be selected in proportion from every province. The king only sanctioned the second, and took time to consider the others. But the principle of a single chamber, the permanent deputation, the obligatory sanction in certain cases of the laws proposed by parliament, these and other articles injurious or disagreeable to the monarch were confirmed."—pp. 169—172.

Meanwhile the treasury was nearly empty, the expenses of a large army were increasing, the revenue was reduced; Sicily, owing to its own distracted state and its disaffection, contributed but little; public credit had fallen in consequence of the prospect of war; the public works, the charitable institutions, were struck with decay, and in the midst of this, the popular discontent, and the cabals of the police increased, as well as the fears of the king, who had no confidence in his ministers, was haunted by the dread of the Carbonari, had no party in the parliament or among the people, suspected his own guards, mistrusted every body. He secretly informed the Allied Sovereigns, then assembled at Troppau, of his situation, and the three famous letters from the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, requesting an interview with him at Laybach, were the result. The king sent a message to parliament expressing his wish to go in order to preserve peace, by obtaining the acknowledgment of the Allies either to the present constitution, or at all events, "to another charter, which should ensure a national representation, individual liberty, the liberty of the press, the independence of the judicial power, and the responsibility of ministers," and, in all cases, a total oblivion of the past. On the 7th of December, the message was read in parliament, as well as the letters of the sovereigns, after which the minister withdrew. Then loud vociferations broke out from the galleries of "The Constitution of Spain or death!" The next day was appointed for taking the message into consideration.

The Carbonari had been busy writing to their friends in the provinces; they knew that their influence and power were essentially linked with the existence of a democratic constitution, and they determined to run into the most dangerous extremes rather than allow any alteration to be made in their favourite statute. The general assembly of the sect at Naples proclaimed itself permanent; the other *vendite* followed its example. They tore the king's message from the walls; they ran in the night about the city with torches, vociferating "The Constitution of Spain, or death!" they alarmed the whole peaceful population. On the morning of the 8th, the capital was full of armed provincials, who had hurried thither at the call. Some of the deputies made their wills and took the sacrament, before they went to the hall of their sittings, and, as they passed through the vestibule, they were accosted, one by one, by the Carbonari, who, by displaying their daggers, significantly manifested their determination of maintaining the constitution of Spain at all risks, but at the same time to let the old king set off if he chose. This last resolve had been artfully brought about by means of the secret agents of the police, who had introduced themselves among the Carbonari, and who, by magnifying their suspicions of the king's sincerity, and extolling at the same time the liberality and good faith of the prince-vicar, had persuaded many that it would be an advantage if the latter were to remain the sole head of the government in the absence of his father.

"The parliament chose the very worst of several expedients that it might have adopted. It might have approved the entire message of the king, and, by accepting the sovereign's spontaneous offer of a new constitution, have strengthened the rights of the people, and made it more difficult for the king to violate his promise; or it might have rejected the message altogether, have confirmed the Spanish constitution, and refused its assent to the king's departure. Or if the parliament had agreed to the king's offer of a statute as a reform of the Spanish constitution, and at the same time rejected the king's proposed departure as being thereby rendered unnecessary, the objections of the Allies would have been removed by the fact of the reform being accepted; every desirable object would have been attained, the king would have been re-assured and glad to concur in averting war and fresh troubles. On the contrary, by insisting, as it did, on the whole Spanish constitution, and allowing at the same time the king to set off, every vantage ground was lost. The deputies did not wish for the worst, but they were terrified by the threats of the Carbonari, and, having no experience in revolutionary affairs, they looked to the nearest danger, without heeding future ones, and their views of durability were founded upon the least durable of all things, the present moment."—p. 178.

But, before this decision of parliament was made known, there

came another message from the king, evidently dictated by mere fright, in which he promised to maintain, at all risks, the constitution of Spain, and to defend it even by arms, if necessary, against the Allied Sovereigns. The king then hurried on board, glad to escape from his present irksome situation. This seems to have been his predominant feeling at the moment.

"My age (he wrote to his son) requires rest, and my mind, weary of so many vicissitudes and changes, recoils at the idea of civil discord and foreign war. Let us preserve to my subjects the blessings of peace, and after thirty years of storms, make ourselves sure of a harbour."

These words express very clearly Ferdinand's impressions at the moment. On arriving at Laybach, however, he was easily persuaded to return to his former sentiments and habits of thought, and to the conviction that Naples was a country unfit for a popular government.

On the 28th of January, 1821, letters came to Naples from the king, dated from Laybach, in which he stated that he found the Allied Sovereigns determined not to recognize the present state of things at Naples, as being tumultuary and incompatible with the safety of the neighbouring countries; that they had advised him to consult the wisest men in his dominions about new institutions to be given to his subjects, but in the mean time they demanded, as a guarantee, that an Austrian force, which was already in march for that purpose, should be placed in the kingdom for a time. This letter being communicated to parliament, that assembly unanimously decided on resistance and war.

"This decision, and the public joy manifested on the occasion, were the effects, not of prudence, not of hope, not even of the courage of despair, but of that passion for applause which is so strong in the minds of the people of the Two Sicilies. But calm succeeded, and men began to think seriously of the consequences."

Colletta was recalled from Sicily, and appointed minister at war The army was divided into two bodies; General Pepe, with 10,000 regulars, besides the provincial militia, had the command of the Abruzzi; and General Carascosa, with 18,000 men, and a large number of militia, was posted on a line of the Garigliano. The Austrians remained for a time on the borders of the Roman territory, as if unwilling to strike the first blow. They even expressed, in several instances, a scrupulous respect for the Neapolitan frontiers. This looked inviting for the purpose of negociation; the prince-vicar intended to propose the subject to parliament, not daring to take the matter upon himself, but Colletta overruled the scruples of the council, and it was agreed to send envoys to the Austrian head-quarters.

"There were still hopes of averting many calamities, when, all at once, we read in a Neapolitan newspaper of the 7th of March that General Pepe had promised, many days before, that he would on that very day attack and defeat the Austrians, who were posted at Rieti, in the Roman state. Whether this was his original determination, or he was urged to it by letters from the more zealous sectarians and deputies, who said that liberty was endangered by the proposed negociations for peace, he could not be dissuaded from his purpose by the advice and entreaties of several officers under him, nor by the resolutions of the parliament and the instructions of the Regent, which were entirely for keeping on the defensive. He did not consider the heavy responsibility incurred by striking the first blow."*—p. 207.

He did march against Rieti on the 7th, with only part of his troops; the Austrians came out in three columns, which attacked the Neapolitans in front and in flank. The ranks of the Neapolitans were thrown into confusion, and a fine regiment of Hungarian cavalry, charging at the moment, decided the rout. Cries of treason, and *salva chi può*, were heard in the ranks. General Russo, with a small body of men, kept the Austrians awhile in check, but the great majority of the troops fled in disorder. The news spreading in the night and the next day through the other camps, the example became contagious; the soldiers, no longer obeying their officers, took the way to their respective homes; the army of Abruzzo was disbanded, without, for the most part, having seen the enemy. No doubt the King's proclamation, which ordered his subjects not to oppose the Austrians under pain of rebellion, contributed mainly to this extraordinary panic. Colletta observes justly, that, all the foreign invasions of Naples being mixed up with, and supported by, political factions within the country itself, the native troops have appeared in the double character of soldiers and partisans, and as such exposed, in case of reverse, to prison or the scaffold, things more dreaded than the dangers of the field. This, and the geographical position of the kingdom, situated in a *cul de sac*, may serve to explain how the Neapolitans, courageous in single combat, determined as insurgents, brave in foreign countries when united to other armies, have ever made a bad defence on their own frontiers.

The sequel is briefly told. The army of Carascosa mutinied, killed several of its officers, and the general himself was in danger of his life. The guards declared that they would not fight against the king. On the 21st of March, the Austrians

* General Pepe in his "Relation of Events," which he published in 1822, stated his reasons for the attack, which he intended only for the purpose of reconnoitring. He says that the disorder manifested itself, not in the attack, but in the retreat.

occupied Capua by a convention, and on the 23d they entered Naples. The parliament, after protesting, adjourned itself *sine die.*

Colletta reckons among other causes of the Neapolitan failure, that the Muratists, who, whether officers or civilians, were certainly the most able men in the country, did not feel much enthusiasm for the constitution of the Cortes, which was too democratic for them. The Muratists did not effect the revolution of 1820, as it has been supposed.

"The tumultuous and blind choice of the constitution of the Cortes, intrinsically faulty for Spain itself, was impracticable in a double kingdom like Naples and Sicily, in the presence of an hostile king, and amidst a fickle and disorderly people, not yet ripe for so much liberty. The hot-headed sectarians talk of the heroic defences of ancient times, and of Greece in our own days; but they do not reflect that the virtues of barbarism are impossible in civilized times, and that our armies and our people were not in the condition of these of Saguntum or Misolonghi; they were not reduced to the last extremity of despair."—pp. 222, 223.

The 10th and last book of Colletta's history treats of the administration of Ferdinand from the suppression of the constitution to his death in January, 1825. It had been agreed at Laybach, that things should be replaced as they were in 1820; that only the leaders of the military revolt at Monteforte should be punished, though not by death; and that all others should be overlooked, or induced, and even assisted, to emigrate. But the advice of Canosa, who saw Ferdinand at Florence, was for measures of rigour, and the revolt of General Rossarol, at Messina, subsequent to the entrance of the Austrians into Naples, furnished an argument in favour of Canosa's policy. That revolt, however, was soon put down, but several persons suffered death in consequence. In the provinces remote from the seat of government, and amidst local animosities and party feuds, the re-action, as usual, assumed a more fatal character.

"Numerous bands of liberals and Carbonari officers and others wandered about in arms. They had friends in the towns, where they often made their appearance in defiance of the authorities. A Captain Venuti attacked the town of Laurenzana, in Basilicata, defeated the guard, and liberated a Carbonaro, who was in prison. He next entered the town of Calvello in the night, and rescued a Franciscan monk, who belonged to the sect. The monk, in coming out of the prison, and in order to afford a proof of his undiminished energies, threw himself upon an unfortunate stranger, who, having fallen in with the insurgents, had been stopped and pinioned by them, and, without inquiring who or what he was, stabbed him to the heart. Sixty of this band, and the murderous friar with them, were afterwards taken and put to death."—p. 245.

The Bishop of Aversa was shot in broad day-light, by a man

whose uncle, a priest, had been put in prison by the bishop. The murderers of Gianpietro, the ex-minister of police, were tried and executed. Private revenge had instigated the crime.

Canosa, being made minister of police, caused many persons to be arrested at Naples, for having served the constitutional government, among others Colletta himself. The Austrians, however, took Colletta and six other officers and deputies, put them on board a ship for Trieste, whence they were sent to Brunn and other towns of Austria, where they were treated with considerate attention, and had the town for their place of confinement.

Canosa did not remain minister long. Medici obtained his dismissal, and the government assumed a more moderate system. There had been as yet, however, no executions in the capital for past political offences. The persons implicated in the military revolt of Monteforte had been repeatedly urged to emigrate, but they disregarded the hint, and were at last arrested and brought to trial in 1822. The trial lasted long, it was public; the defence was bold; three of the seven judges were for an acquittal. Sentence of death was passed upon thirty individuals, but two only, Morelli and Silvati, the first leaders, were executed. The king commuted the penalty of the others into imprisonment in the Presidj. Many more received their passports for various countries.

In this year, 1822, a statute was proclaimed by the king, with the advice of his council, separating the administration of Sicily from that of Naples, each to have its respective finance, judiciary, and taxation, the two countries however remaining united as one political kingdom. A consulta of thirty councillors at Naples, and another of eighteen at Palermo, were appointed to examine the laws, decrees, and ordinances proposed by the government, and report their opinion thereupon. In each province a council was established to assess its quota of the taxes imposed by the government, and to superintend their collection. These councillors, however, were to be appointed by the king during pleasure. A greater freedom of attributions was given to the municipal or communal councils for administering their local affairs. A council of state, of at least twelve members, among whom six ministers, was to discuss all government matters with the king.

On the morning of the 4th of January, 1825, King Ferdinand was found dead in his bed. He had been carried off by an apoplectic stroke, having not had time to ring for his attendants. He was seventy-six years of age, of which he had reigned sixty-five. He was at first styled Ferdinand IV. of Naples and III. of Sicily,

but he afterwards assumed the title of Ferdinand I. of the United Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He was succeeded by his son Francis I., who died in November, 1830. Ferdinand was one of the last kings of the old Bourbon school.

"He sincerely believed, says Colletta, that kings were a different race from other men, that the people belonged to him, and that his right over their persons and properties was sacred; yet, towards the end of his life, he seems to have had some qualms of conscience, and he redoubled his devotional practices."—p. 271.

These few words reveal the construction of a mind which few people in our times, and especially in England, will understand, but which was however a reality, and this serves to explain many enigmas, and partly to disarm our judgment of some of its severity towards the departed. Ferdinand's education, it is well known, had been sadly neglected, yet his long experience must have partly supplied the deficiency; he was by no means dull, and many passages in Colletta's book show that he was not so ignorant as it has been supposed. But he was much fonder of hunting and riding than of business, and his dislike of application and cabinet labour was the cause of many errors and many misfortunes.

ART. V.—1. *Li Romans de Garin le Loherain, publié pour la première fois et précédé de l'Examen du Système de M. Fauriel sur les Romans Carlovingiens.* Par M. P. Paris. Paris: Techener. Tome I., 1833; Tome II., 1835.

2. *Li Romans de Horn.* MS. Bibl. Publ. Cambridge, Ff. 6, 17. *(Unpublished.)*

COME listen to an old and true song, a famous history of marvellous value, how the Vandals invaded our land. Miserably had they reduced our holy faith, slain our people, and wasted our country. Rheims had they destroyed, and Paris they besieged; they slew Saint Nicaise of Rheims, and Saint Maurice of Cambrai, with 7000 knights of his company, who were true martyrs for the sake of their Lord.

"Vielle chanson voire volez oïr
De grant istoire et de mervillous pris,
Si com li Wandre vinrent en cest païs.
Crestienté ont malement bailli,
Les homes morts et art tout le païs;
Destruirent Rains et assisrent Paris,
Et sains Nicaises de Rains i fut ocis,
Et sains Morises de Cambrai la fort cit,
Uns grans seigneurs, si com la chanson dit,

En sa compaigne de chevaliers sept mil
Qui por Jesu furent verai martir."—p. 1.

Charles Martel could no longer oppose the progress of these invaders, for the strength of his kingdom was reduced by internal as well as by external causes. On the approach of death, his subjects had been persuaded to neglect their own relatives; and they gave to the black monks of the order of Saint Benet all their lands and their rents and their mills, leaving nothing to their sons and daughters. The nation was thus impoverished, and its riches thrown into the hands of the clergy.

A council was held at Lyons, where Charles conferred with the pope and 3000 of the clergy. He had with him more than 20,000 knights, but they were unarmed and without horses, and few were men of years and experience. "Sire Apostle," said the emperor, "for the sake of him who died on the cross, have pity upon me, and upon these my knights in our extremity. My land is burnt and destroyed, my castles broken down, the monasteries profaned, and my clergy, with their bishops and archbishops, slain without mercy. I have here about 20,000 knights, who possess neither arms nor steeds. Take good counsel, that they may be enabled to defend themselves, or I will give up the nation to you to guard it as you can." The pope proposed that the church should give some small part of its riches to support the war against the pagans, but the proud archbishop of Rheims swore, "by the faith which he owed to St. Martin," that he would not consent to subscribe a penny to any such secular purposes, and it was not without much opposition that Charles at last obtained the loan of the tithes of the church, with which he speedily armed and furnished 40,000 men.

Meanwhile Troyes was besieged by 100,000 infidels, and another army, equally numerous, lay before Paris, to which latter place Charles Martel advanced with his host, attended by his trusty liege, Hervi of Lorraine. Hervi pushed forward with his Lorrains; encountered and defeated the enemies before the arrival of the emperor, having slain in the engagement one of their kings, "Charboncle, a king of the Saracens," who had formerly killed his cousin, a knight of Metz; and the infidels fled towards Sens and Soissons, losing by the way at Pont-Girbert, where Hervi again lay in wait for them, more than 3000 men.

Soon after this battle, while Hervi was at Paris with the emperor and his queen and young Pepin, tidings arrived that the pagans were in host at Troyes and before Sens, and that they had ravaged the vale of Soissons, and had slain the archbishop of Rheims. The consultation on this message was short:—"What shall we do?" said the king to Hervi. "With God's aid, we will

go:" was the answer;* and the army was in motion at the break of the following morn, when suddenly a second messenger appeared from Sens, whose inhabitants prayed for immediate aid against another army of pagans, who cruelly ravaged their district. The emperor, accordingly, divided his host, sending duke Hervi with his Lorrains to the valley of Soissons, while he hastened with the French to Sens. The duke defeated the Saracens and drove them from Soissons, but the emperor was less fortunate. In the night he had attacked and defeated the infidels before Sens, and had pursued them to their grand host which lay before Troyes, where, overcome by numbers, his army was only saved from discomfiture by the sudden arrival of Hervi, who had hastened forwards to join him after the flight of the enemy from Soissons. The duke immediately made a new attack upon the Saracens, slew three of their kings and 20,000 of their men, and pursued them three leagues and a half from the city. After the battle, he carried Charles, who was mortally wounded, to Paris, where he died, and was buried in the monastery of St. Denys: and, calling together the turbulent barons who held their fiefs of the Frankish monarch, in spite of the opposition of many of them, he caused the young prince Pepin to be crowned and acknowledged as king. After having recommended the new monarch to the guardianship of Hardré, he returned to his own territory, where he married Aélis, the sister of the noble knight Gaudin, who in the course of two years bore him as many sons, the first of whom was called Garin, and was duke after the death of his father; and the second, who was called Begues or Begon, had the castle and territory of Belin. He had also seven daughters, who were all married to noble and worthy knights.

In the mean time the Hungarians (Hongres), "que Diex puist maléir," entered the territory of the Duke Hervi, which they ravaged with fire and sword, and laid siege to his town of Metz. Unable singly to make head against such powerful invaders, the duke sought aid at the court of Pepin, whom he found with Hardré and Amauri,—

" N'ot plus felons, jusqu'à l'esve del Rin,
Cis les destruie qui confondit Caïn!—
N'ot si felons en soisante païs."†—pp. 52, 53.

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* " Un mes en vint droitement à Charlon;
' En non Dieu, sire, cis del val de Sissons
Ont desconfit Paien et Esclavon;
Ta terre metent en feu et en charbon,'
Et dit li rois; ' Hervis, que la ferons?'
Respont li dux: ' Se Diex plaist, nos irons.'"—p. 17.

† " There are no greater rascals on this side the river Rhine, may he destroy them who confounded Cain! * * There are no such rascals in sixty lands."

They persuaded the king to refuse the aid which the Lorrain sought, and to advise him to seek assistance amongst his own kinsmen. Disappointed and mortified at the emperor's ingratitude, he withdrew his fief from the Frankish monarch, went to Cologne, and there offered to hold it of king Anséis, on condition that the latter should give him immediate and sufficient aid. The offer was accepted; Anséis in person accompanied duke Hervi to the war, and the infidels were entirely defeated, but in the pursuit the duke was slain by an arrow. Anséis was at first embarrassed by this accident, but, fearing to lose the advantage which his situation had given him, he suddenly seized upon the city of Metz, though not before Berengier, the tutor of Garin and Begues, Hervi's sons, had mounted them both and escaped with them towards Châlons in Champagne, where he placed them under the care of the bishop, who was their uncle.

One Pentecost, when Pepin held a court at Mont-Loon, the bishop Henry presented his two wards, who had now been under his care seven years and a half, to the emperor, who received them graciously, and put them under the guardianship of Hardré. The latter placed them as the companions (compains) of his two sons—Begues, the younger, being the companion of William, and Garin, of his brother Fromont. The king loved much the two young Lorrains, particularly Begues, to whom he gave the whole of Gascony, a gift which displeased much the jealous Hardré; and, at a court held at Langres, he knighted them both, and, at the same time, their two companions. Shortly afterwards, the two brothers signalized themselves in an expedition against the Normans, who had invaded France, and caused duke Richard to make reparation to the king. In reward for this service, the latter obtained for them the restoration of their patrimony, which had been so long usurped by the King of Cologne.

While the brothers were still young, and were at Paris with the court, tidings were brought how four Saracen kings had entered Provence, Auvergne, and Savoy, and how they were at Valprofonde, where they had besieged King Thierry in his capital. Thierry sent a messenger in haste to demand aid of the emperor, but Hardré had counselled him to consult rather his own ease, and to leave Thierry to his fate until the following spring; and the messenger was about to return with this sinister response, when Pepin's resolution was changed by the pressing supplications of Garin and Begues and their companions. The army was accordingly assembled, and was far advanced on the road towards Valprofonde, when the heat, for it was summer, threw the king into a serious illness. He was again on the point of listening to Hardré's advice to desert Thierry, and would have disbanded his

army, but Garin with Begues, Fromont, William and Bernard of Naisil, entered the royal chamber, and expostulated with him, the former offering to lead the expedition himself, whilst the king returned to Paris for the recovery of his health. The king accepted Garin's offer, gave him the chief command of the army, and they advanced speedily to the relief of King Thierry, when, as they approached the enemy, a new difficulty arose;—Fromont, fearful of the superior numbers of the infidels, refused to advance to the combat. In vain Garin urged the oath which they had all taken to obey his superior command: Fromont departed with his friends and retainers, and Garin, with Begues and the remainder of the army, approached Valprofonde, having first despatched a messenger to King Thierry, urging him to fall suddenly upon the Saracens' rear, whilst he attacked them in front. The Lorrains fought gallantly; the Saracens were entirely defeated, and, after the battle, Fromont and his companions, who had stood aloof to see the result, came forwards and laid claim to their share of the spoils, a claim which was naturally refused. Hence began the hatred and dissensions which lasted so long between the families of Fromont and Garin. The rich King Thierry was mortally wounded in the battle; on his death at Valprofonde, he betrothed Blanchefior, his only child, to Garin, leaving for her dower all his possessions and treasures, and the Lorrain received in her father's presence the fealty of his subjects.

The war was now ended, and all the barons and knights returned to their own castles, except Fromont and Garin, who went together to the court, where the latter was received by Pepin with every mark of respect. Garin told the king the result of the war, and how the King Thierry was dead, and had given him his daughter and his territory, and how he had accepted both only on the condition of their being agreeable to his superior sovereign. Pepin immediately ratified the gift, but Fromont, swelling with ire and envy, forbade the alliance, declaring that when the king had given the duchy of Gascony to Begues, he had promised him the first fief that should become vacant, in fulfilment of which promise he now demanded the lands of King Thierry. Pepin represented to him that this was a gift from father to child, and Garin himself expostulated mildly; but Fromont made use of rude threats against his person, which so irritated the Lorrain that he would have struck him with his fist had not Pepin held him back by the hem of his mantle. Both parties now uttered bitter recriminations, till Fromont, rushing upon Garin, was received by a blow on the head which laid him prostrate on the ground. The Bordelais, who were much more numerous in the court than the Lorrains, came to the assistance of their chieftain;

the king was young and weak, and his orders were not heeded; and Hardré himself, who was in his chamber at the time, seized his sword, and hastened to encourage his own men. Fourteen of the Lorrains were killed, and the rest were driven out of the palace, which was strongly barricaded; and Hardré would have put to death Garin, who defended himself as well as he could against his numerous adversaries, had not timely aid arrived

It chanced that the nephew of Garin, Hernaïs of Orliens, with his brother, the bishop Huedon, and a company of 7000 knights, was on his way to the court to claim the inheritance of his father, who was recently dead. As he approached the palace he met an esquire, who was wounded, and who informed him of the perilous situation of his uncle. Hernaïs hastened forwards with his company, forced his way into the palace, sword in hand, struck down the men of Fromont on every side, and gave Hardré, Fromont's father, a blow on the head, which scattered his brains over the pavement. Garin sprung forwards, thanked Hernaïs for his assistance, and joined in the destruction of his enemies; while Fromont, dismayed at this sudden reverse of fortune, escaped from the palace by a window, and fled to St. Quentin, attended by only fourteen knights. Henry of Montague, Garin's cousin german, also came to the assistance of his kinsmen, and joined in the slaughter of the Bordelais, after which they cleared the palace of the slain, and threw the body of Hardré into a ditch.

Pepin, at the suggestion of Henry of Montague, assembled an army, with the determination to reduce and punish the rebellious barons who had taken part with Fromont. After having taken Soissons, the patrimony of Fromont, the emperor returned to Mont Loon. Meanwhile Fromont had arrived at St. Quentin, had there consulted with his cousin Huedes, and they spent the night in writing letters to their friends whose aid they demanded to avert the danger which threatened his family. To strengthen his alliance, Fromont married Heliseus, the dame of Pontis, and sister of the Flemish count Bauduin, and committed a new act of rebellion in contracting a marriage without the ratification of his sovereign. As soon as the marriage ceremonies had been completed, his allies assembled their troops at St. Quentin, and proceeded thence to plunder and lay waste the lands and possessions of the barons who were opposed to them, till at last they laid siege to the city of Cambrai, which was gallantly defended by Hues de Cambresis. No sooner did these tidings reach Loon, where were still the emperor and Garin, than letters were immediately despatched to every part of the kingdom that all who were loyal and friendly to the emperor should speedily join his standard. The tidings were also carried by a messenger of Fromont to his

turbulent uncle, Bernard of Naisil, with a pressing demand that he should hasten with his men to join the partisans. Bernard rejoiced exceedingly at the intelligence—

" Said Bernard, 'My heart is joyous to day:
We will go and hear what our neighbours say;
Full well shall the churls and their masters know,
Who have quietly fattened both ox and cow;
That Bernard's sword, at its owner's will,
Can quickly his folds and larders fill.
Speed, messenger, my nephew tell
That I counsel he look to his warring well,
Nor waste his time in idle sleep;
While I my quarters here will keep.
Say, Bernard will never desert his kin.'"*

He assembled his retainers and dependents, entered Lorraine, spreading devastation on every side, and had laid seige to Dijon, when his progress was arrested by Garin's brother, Begues of Belin.

One of Pepin's messengers had found Begues at Bordelle, with William, Fromont's brother, quite unsuspicious of the troubles which had arisen out of the expedition against the Saracens at Valprofonde. The intelligence was communicated privately to Begues; he escaped to Gironville, where he assembled an army, and, by the counsel of his allies, instead of joining immediately the host of the emperor, he hastened forward against Bernard of Naisil, taking by the way Lyons and other places of importance which belonged to his enemies. He soon drove Bernard to his own castle of Naisil, where he besieged him, took the castle, and imprisoned its owner in his own dungeon. In the mean time, Pepin, whose messenger had been insulted by Fromont, drove him and his friends from Cambrai, and obliged them to take shelter in St. Quentin, to which town he laid siege. Here Fromont was joined by his brother William with the Bordelais.

Begues, after having reduced and imprisoned Bernard of Naisil, proceeded to destroy Monclin, Verdun, and the other strongholds of the barons who had joined Fromont, when a message from the

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* " Et dit Bernars: ' Or enforce mes pris
Et ma grant joie et mes tres grant delis.
Or sauront bien entor moi mi voisin
Qui ont les vaches et les grans bues norris,
Coment je sais del roit espieu ferir.
Vas en arriere, messagiers, biaus amins,
Dis mon nevou, gardes ne li mentir,
Qu'il pense bien de sa guerre fournir:
Qui bien guerroie, ne l'estuet pas dormir.
Que par decà voudrai mon lieu tenir;
Ne li faudrai tant com je soie vis.' "—p. 193.

emperor caused him to hasten towards St. Quentin, where the latter was much embarrassed by the attacks of his enemies from the town. The king went out to meet him, and rejoiced much when he beheld his host spreading itself over the valley.

" The king approached a messenger,
And said, ' What men are these I see?'
' That is the good Duke Aubery,
A better ne'er held land or fee,
Burgundia's arms, I wot, are his;
And after rides Duke Hernaïs;
Next comes the Mancel, and Angevine,
Avallois, and those from beyond the Rhine.
And there, behind, see Bauduin ride,
Auvergne is his; and there, beside,
The Gascons by Duke Begon led,
His banners o'er the meadows spread.'
' Thank God!' said the king, ' I have my desire,
There is none under heaven can brave *his* ire.' "*

After the arrival of Begues, there were many conflicts between the besieged and the besiegers, in one of which he was himself dangerously wounded, but the men of Fromont were always defeated. Begues was cured by a skilful physician who had been educated at Salerno, and soon after he surrounded the town with entrenchments, cutting off all communication with the surrounding country. Fromont and his party were now much dispirited, and when Bernard of Naisil, who was still in prison, made proposals for a reconciliation, they readily acquiesced, and after some previous consultation, pledges of restitution and reparation were given on both sides. The king held a court at Paris, where all the barons attended, and where also came the maiden Blancheflor, the betrothed of Garin, with a splendid convoy.

" The palfrey on which the maiden rode
Was whiter than is the fleur-de-lis;
Its bridle was worth a hundred marks,
And its trappings shone full daintily.

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* " Un mes demande: ' Quel gent sunt ores ci?'
Et cis respont: ' Jà le pourez oïr:
C'est de Borgoine li bons dux Auberis,
Li miedres dux qui terre puist tenir;
Cil sunt Bourgoing qui vienent avec lui.
Après chevauche li bons dux Hernaïs
Et après li Mancel et Angevin,
Et Avallois et cil d'outre Rin.
Vez cels derrieres, c'est li quens Bauduins
Qui a Auvergne toute quite à tenir.
Vez ces banieres parmi ces prés venir,
C'est li quens Begues dou chastel de Belin.'
' Diex!' dist li rois, ' or ai tout mon devis,
Sor ciel n'a homme qui le poïst sofrir.' "—p. 250.

A fairer face, or gentler form,
Or sweeter mouth, or teeth more white,
Or body of nobler make than hers,
Ne'er met the gaze of mortal sight.
Bright eyes, from under well-arched brows,
Smil'd joyously on all around;
And flaxen locks hung gracefully
From head with gorgeous chaplet crowned.
Well fill'd were the streets of Paris that day,
And joyously shouted the crowd, I ween,
'God grant that our noble emperor
Should make this gentle maiden his queen!'"*

The wish of the good people of Paris was much nearer being fulfilled than might have been expected. When Pepin declared his will that the marriage of Garin should be celebrated the following morning, the Archbishop Henry of Rheims represented to him strongly, that if this marriage took place, the party of Fromont would never be satisfied, but that it would be a cause of perpetual dissensions in the kingdom. "What shall I do, then?" said the emperor. "Marry the maiden yourself, sire," was the ready reply. "But my promise," was the natural answer of the king, a scruple which was easily overcome by the archbishop, who informed him that he had procured two monks to swear that she was too near in relationship to Garin to become lawfully his wife. "Well," said the king, "I will go and see her; and if she suit me, she shall have me for her husband." Accordingly the king went, was charmed with her beauty and manners, fell deeply in love, and consented to the archbishop's proposal.

On the morn fixed for the nuptials, the Count Fromont, with Bernard of Naisil, and thirty-six knights of his party, entered the palace. When he saw Blancheflor, Bernard would have per-

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* "Li palefrois sor quoi la dame sist
Estoit plus blans que n'est la flor de lis;
Li lorains vaut cent mars de parisis,
Et la sambue nuns plus riche ne vit.
La dame ert gente et de cor et de vis,
Bouche espessete, et les dens ot petis,
Il sunt plus blans qu'ivoire planéis;
Hanches bassetes, blans et vermeil li vis,
Les ieus rians et bien fais les sorcis;
C'est la plus belle qui onques mais naquit.
Sor ses espaules li gisent si blon crin:
En son chief ot un chapelet petit
D'or et de pieres qui mout bien li avint.
Toutes les rues emplissent de Paris;
Dist l'uns à l'autre: 'Com belle dame a ci!
Elle devroit un roiaume tenir.
Pléust à Dieu l'emperéres Pepins
L'éust à fame, si serions tuit garis.'"—p. 297.

suaded Fromont to join him in seizing her person, with the design of marrying her to one of their own friends, Isoré or William of Monclin—he even offered to leave his own wife to take her to himself. Fromont retorted somewhat bitterly—"I come not here," said he, "to make war, but to establish peace, if God will permit"—and provoked the anger of the haughty Bernard.

> " 'Wretch!' Bernard said, 'no kin of mine
> Could harbour coward soul like thine.' "*

The ill designs of the Lord of Naisil were rendered vain by the entrance of Garin, Begues, the German Ouri, Gerard of Liege, and Aubery of Bourgoigne, with full sixty chosen knights in their train.

When the Archbishop Henry rose and proclaimed the bans of marriage between Garin and Blancheflor, a monk, as had been agreed upon, came forward and declared the union to be unlawful, on the ground of consanguinity. Garin was angry, but there seems to have been some truth in the plea, though it was one which, under other circumstances, might easily have been passed over: the monk persisted in his assertion, the king was well inclined to listen to it, and the marriage ceremonies ceased. Fromont seized the opportunity, went to Garin and expressed deep sorrow for the quarrel which had taken place between them, and an ardent desire that there should ever after be friendship between their families. To this end he proposed that Garin and Begues should marry his two sisters, and that Garin should endeavour to promote the union of Blancheflor with his brother William. Garin at once consented to the project, but it was suddenly overthrown by the declaration of Pepin that it was his intention to make her his queen. The nuptials accordingly took place, but the feast on the occasion gave rise to another quarrel between the family of Fromont and the Lorrains.

Garin served the wine in the hall, an office which Fromont seems to have considered as appertaining to himself; and Bernard, who was sitting at table with him and Isoré le Gris, urged his nephew to snatch the cup from Garin's hand. Fromont refused, and Bernard himself sprang forward, and in his attempt to seize the cup, spilt its contents over Garin's robe.

> " 'Would Bernard drink?' Duke Garin said,
> With eye unmoved; 'a draught, perdy!
> Of better wine I'll give to thee.'
> Bernard in angry tone replied,

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* " 'Voir,' dist Bernars, 'ainc ne m'apartenis,
Mauvais cuvars! com estes assouplis!' "—vol. ii. p. 7.

'Hold! caitif wretch! May ill betide
The fool who gave that cup to thee!
And shame the traitor's portion be
Who touches Fromont's heritage.'"*

Bernard then made a second attempt to seize the cup, but Garin struck him with it on the forehead, tearing off by the blow the skin and the eyebrows, and covering his face with blood. The knights on both sides rose from table, a general engagement commenced in the royal hall, and the Lorrains were nearly overcome by numbers. Meanwhile Begues, who it appears had the care of the cooking, was in the kitchen. When tidings came to him of the confusion in the hall, he called the cook, and ordered him with his men, to the number of sixty, to hasten thither, armed with pestles, ladles, spits, or any weapon on which they could lay their hands. At the same time the king, at the urgent expostulation of his queen, ordered the French to arm quickly to punish the offending Bordelais. Begues himself came armed with a large spit, full of hot roasting plovers, which he broke over the neck of Isoré, and with the stump knocked down the Count Harduin. The Bordelais fled from the hall, but, as they hurried down the steps, a lad who carried rabbits slew Joscelin, the bastard son of Fromont, with a stone which he threw at his head. The king's men took sixty prisoners, and among the rest Fromont, Bauduin, Lancelin of Verdun, William, and Isoré.

In the hopes of procuring their release from prison, they agreed, at the instigation of Bernard of Naisil, to accuse Garin of treason. Isoré supported the charge, and Garin accepted the challenge by battle; but Begues, when he heard of it, pleaded his privilege of defending his brother, and caused the challenge to be transferred to himself. The battle ended in the death of Isoré, whose head Begues clove to the teeth. Bernard fled in all haste to his castle of Naisil, whence he again invaded and ravaged Lorraine, and Fromont and his companions returned to prison; but by the good will of Begues they were released, and they all swore lasting fealty to Pepin, and friendship to the family of the Lorrains. Suddenly arrived tidings of the insurrection of Bernard; but Fromont and his friends renounced all co-operation with him, and joined the king, who assembled his army, and quickly drove Bernard to his own castle. There he was besieged, and, after a desperate de-

* " Garins le voit, si l'a à raison mis :
' Voulez-vous boivre, sire Bernars?' dist-il,
' Je vous donrai encore de millor vin!'
Et dist Bernars : ' Malerrous, chaïtis!
A toi que tient de la nef d'or tenir?
Tu deshérites Fromont et ses amins;
Il t'en puet bien mal et honte avenir.'"—vol. ii. p. 17.

fence, reduced to extremities; but, at the intercession of Fromont, he was allowed to make terms for the preservation of his castle.

After peace had been again established, Garin and Begues, at the particular desire of Pepin and his queen Blancheflor, married the two daughters of the king's uncle, the Duke Miles, the "well-made" Aelis and the "fair" Beatrix, who received as their dower each an equal share of the territory of their father, who became himself a monk of St. Surin. The dukes, with their consorts, went to their own castles—Garin to Metz, where he begat a son called Girbert—Begues to Gascony, to his castle of Belin.

Thiebaud, a baron of Fromont's party, who, it appears, had sought in vain the hand and dower of Beatrix, was playing at chess at Bordelle, when tidings arrived that she had been married to Begues, and that the latter was on his way to the castle of Belin, with his wife and a company of eighty knights. Thiebaud suddenly conceived the project of waylaying the duke, slaying him, and carrying away his wife, and with this intent he lay in ambush, with about 280 of his men. With difficulty a party from Belin, who had received intelligence of the peril which threatened their lord, rescued the lady and her wounded husband from their hands; they were carried to the castle, where the wounds of Begues and his friends were soon healed by the care of skilful physicians of Salerno. Thiebaud, who, having himself commenced hostilities, was determined to proceed in them, by great exertions raised an army of 30,000 men, with which he invaded the lands of Begues, and laid siege to his castle. The Duke Begues was closely pressed; with difficulty he found a messenger who would venture out in search of his friends; the messenger came before the king, who was enraged at the tidings; but Bernard of Naisil, who was present, denied the truth of the messenger's story, and insulted the queen, who had spoken in favour of the Lorrains. She complained to Garin, who entered with seven-score knights in his train. He immediately went to Bernard, struck him a blow with his fist, which broke four of his teeth and laid him prostrate on the ground, where the burgesses, who came to the place, would instantly have put him to death but for the intercession of the king. The king and Garin again placed themselves at the head of their army, and compelled Thiebaud to take shelter in the city of Bordelle.

The king now besieged Bordelle. But Bernard, meanwhile, enraged at his misadventure, had repaired to Sens, where he persuaded William of Monclin, and, though not without much difficulty, Fromont, to join him in assisting the Bordelais, and with their friends and retainers they entered the besieged city. After a long siege, during which were performed many chivalrous deeds,

and in which many men were slain, and the city itself taken and burnt, the besieged barons being confined to the castle, the latter were again glad to obtain any terms of reconciliation.

The peace seems now to have lasted for some time. One day Begues was with Beatrix at his castle of Belin; he was sad and pensive, and told his wife that he must pay a visit to his brother Garin, whom he had not seen for a long space of time. He had heard also that the Bois de Puelle was the haunt of a great boar, which he would take the opportunity of hunting, as the wood lay near his way. The wood, however, was in the territory of his old enemies, and Beatrix prayed him not to put himself into their power. The duke left Belin with his cousin Rigaut, taking with him thirty-six knights, with skilful hunters, to assist in the chase; and at Valenciennes his host, who knew well the haunts of the boar, offered to lead him to the wood. The boar was hunted; Begues in the ardour of the chase was separated from his men, overtook the animal and slew it, and being alone and ignorant of the way, at the approach of night he took shelter under a tree. There he made a fire, and sounded his horn to assemble his dogs. The foresters, who had heard the horn and saw the duke with his dogs, carried the tidings in haste to Fromont's friends. Thiebaud and others hastened to the spot; they knew the knight, rejoiced at the chance which had thrown into their power their old enemy, set upon him suddenly, and he was slain with an arrow by one of the archers. The body was carried to Sens. Fromont was angry and sorrowful, for he saw how his officious friends had again drawn him into rebellion against the emperor, by a new quarrel with the party of the Lorrains. He showed all possible respect to the body of the duke; the latter was carried in great honour to Valenciennes, and he was buried in the presence of Pepin and Garin, amid the lamentations of his relations, friends, and followers. On his tomb was inscribed—

"HE WAS THE BEST WHO E'ER RODE UPON STEED."*

Here concludes that part of the poem of the Lorrains which has been printed by M. Paris. The remainder of the third chanson—for he has printed the first two, and part of the third—contains the account of the war which was again stirred up between the Lorrains and the Bordelais—of the flight of the elder Fromont, and of his return to France at the head of the Saracens—his death—and, finally, the death of Garin, and the proscription of his son Girbert, with Hernaut and Garin, the sons of Begues of Belin.

* "Ce fu li mieuldres qui sor destrier séist."—vol. ii. p. 272.

Such is the plot of one of the best of what have been termed "*chansons de geste*." It is probable that at least some of the romances which are included under this title, are reflections of the earlier national cycles which the Franks, like all their neighbours, must have once possessed. Through what medium they reached their present form, it is not easy to imagine—whether they were really imitations, or modernizations of the other poems—whether they were founded on popular traditions, to which those poems had given rise—or whether, which is by no means improbable, they are metrical versions of Latin histories, which had themselves been formed upon older ballads and songs. The romance of Garin le Loherrain is stated in the manuscripts to be the work of Jehan de Flagy: but it is a poem too full of historical details, too little encumbered with romantic incidents, to be the *invention* of a French romancer of the age at which, in all probability, that person must have lived. It is in fact a poem full of vigour and spirit—the circumstances are told vividly and naturally, without any of that laboured attempt at description, which characterizes what have been generally understood by the title of early French romances. These latter have a distinct character—they generally consist of an ill-arranged heap of incredible combats, of great means to produce little things, of perilous enterprises without any object—the same action, the same stratagem, the same circumstances, repeated till they raise a nausea. Even the romances which belong to the fabulous history of Charlemagne merit in part the same censure. The romance of Garin, on the contrary, is a magnificent and true picture of the evils which every day must have witnessed, when a numerous body of turbulent barons, always jealous of each other, and ever more ready to command than to seek as a boon the royal favour, were ruled by a young and weak monarch.

We turn an incredulous ear to the assertions of M. Paris, of the great antiquity of these "chansons" in their present form: and we cast an equally incredulous eye on his fac-similes of the manuscripts, when he informs us that those of the "oldest" of these romances, that of Garin le Loherrain, are nearly all of the twelfth century. The romance of Berte aux Grans Piés, the first of these chansons which he has published, is evidently a production of no very remote antiquity—its author, named Adenès, flourished towards the end of the thirteenth century, and it has all the appearance of a tale which has been briefly told in some older chronicle, extended and worked up with the common-place descriptions, repeated over and over, of which the French poets of that age made such abundant use.

It is in the notes, however, that M. Paris develops his ideas of

the age of the romance of Garin, and his reasons for adopting them. At p. 140 (vol. i.) it is observed—

" Nostre empereres a fait sa gent mander.
Là véissiez communes assenbler,
Et les villains venir et aüner," &c.*

"Our histories," he says, "speak first of warriors furnished by the commons at the time of the battle of Bouvines, that is, in 1214; here we have a *text*, older by *at least half a century*, in which they are as distinctly mentioned." The text of Garin, then, was formed at the latest by the middle of the eleventh century. Again, the poem speaks of the monastery of Grandmont, (p. 188, vol. i.)—

" Par Grand Mont va, iluec ont messe oï,
Dont ert li lieus et povres et petis."†

"This," says he, "may serve to bound (if not to fix) the date of our poem. Grandmont, before the eleventh century, was a wild place, in the Marche, on the road from Gascony to Berry, five leagues distant from Limoges. But towards 1060, it acquired great importance, by being chosen by St. Stephen of Thiers for the chief place of his order." Here then we have a proof, in contradiction of M. Paris, that the poem could not have been written before the end of the eleventh century, and, since the place can hardly have changed its character at once, a probability that it was written much later. The only conclusion which it authorizes is, that the poet knew that Grandmont was not a place of importance, at the date of the events he describes. In another place, (vol. i. p. 253,) mention is made of the armorial bearings of William of Monclin. Here the editor is angry with those antiquarians, who have supposed armorial bearings to be no older than the middle of the twelfth century, because they find no earlier allusion to them. He opposes their arguments by the *text* of Garin, but, if the antiquarians be right, the text of Garin cannot have been composed before the end of the twelfth century. In the second volume, M. Paris seems to have adopted a still more extravagant theory of the antiquity of this romance. He compares the character of Henry, archbishop of Rheims in the time of Pepin, with that of Heriveus or Hervé, who became archbishop of the same see in the year 900. " De tout cela," he says, " ne concluons pas que les récits du *Garin* sont fondés sur l'histoire du x^e^ siècle, mais seulement que les allusions nom-

* " Our Emperor has caused his people to be summoned. There you might see the commons assemble, and the vilains come to the gathering," &c.

† " He went by Grandmont, where he heard mass; the place was then poor and small."

breuses aux événements de cette époque accusent assez bien la date du poëme." We do not entirely understand the aim of this argument—the character of a turbulent archbishop could hardly have been so rare, that the poet must have lived in the tenth century, to have been able to conceive his character. The rest of M. Paris's observations are in the same style as the foregoing—the utmost which any of them proves, is the probability that the story was not invented by Jehan de Flagy, but that it existed in an older form. But they have little weight in contradicting the manuscripts, as far as we can judge of them by the fac-similes and the language, which have every appearance of being those of the middle and latter half of the thirteenth century, probably the time when Jehan de Flagy lived.

We are inclined to believe, that these "chansons de geste" were never popular among the Normans: they were certainly not popular amongst them in England, and we are not aware that at an early period any of them received an English dress. The simple improbability of the thing to all but those who, as most of our French critics have been in the habit of doing, confound Normans with Frenchmen, would lead us to adopt the idea that the former, at the battle of Hastings, if they sung at all, chanted not a "chanson" of Roland and of Oliver, and of the disaster at Ronçevaux, but of Rollo their own great leader, who had procured them a settlement in the land of the Franks, and that it was the popularity of the former story in Wace's time, which led him erroneously to amplify the brief observation of the chronicles (*tunc cantilena Rollandi inchoata*, or, as another has it, *cantu . . . inchoato*) into the celebrated passage—

> "Taillefer, ki mult bien cantout,
> Sor un cheval ki tost alout
> Devant le duc aloit cantant
> De Karlemaine e de Rollant,
> Et d'Oliver e des vassals
> Ki morurent en Renchevals."*

A passage of the chronicle of the canon of Oseney, printed in the collection of Gale, might seem to favour this supposition—its compiler speaks of "Guillelmus Longespe, filius *Rollandi*, primi ducis Normannorum." It is by no means unlikely, however, that the circumstance of Taillefer singing in the battle was an invention of the chroniclers, after the battle of Ronçevaux had become itself a popular subject of song—and that the ground of the story was his fame as a poet. The purpose of the anecdote is to show

* "Taillefer, who sang full well, rode on a swift horse before the duke, singing of Charlemagne and of Roland and of Oliver, and of the vassals who died in Renchevals."

the bold recklessness of the warrior, who could amuse himself with his song-craft in the very face of the enemy.

Many wild theories have been started by those who have sought the *origin* of romance, and who would fain discover among one particular people only, that which must have been common to all. The French writers on this subject have generally commenced with a previously imbibed prejudice, that their own country alone must have the glory of the invention, and that unless they establish this position they will have laboured in vain. The author of the preface to the last edition of Legrand d'Aussy's *Fabliaux, ou Contes*, asserts, that we owe the origin of romance to the expeditions of Charlemagne against the Saracens: and, after assuring us that all nations borrowed their romances from those of the French, proceeds to observe—

"The invention of romance was received throughout England, with the same ardour as amongst our other neighbours. But this people, jealous, and from that period envious of France, was unwilling to give to its paladins a French chieftain such as had been Charlemagne: they formed the design of selecting another from amongst their own kings, and of transforming him into a famous hero, who by his exploits should eclipse our own. The personage destined for this high character was Arthur, a prince unknown and the less fitted for it, because in history he has no place. But what will, I think, appear still more awkward, is, that amongst his conquests this hero of heroes places a portion of France, and that he assumes for his vassals several of the small kings who are supposed to have reigned there. If, however, we recollect, that at the time when these lying fictions were written, England, itself conquered, was subject to a dynasty of French princes, it will be agreed that, to the eyes of attentive readers, it is with nations in their writings as with individuals: their character always peeps out in some place or other."!!

This ingenious theory, while it shows the ability of its author in laying foundations upon nothing, shows also his entire ignorance both of the history of his subject, and of that of the people of whom he talks. Where, we wonder, did he learn that Arthur, as a hero of romance, was more modern than Charlemagne?—and above all, we would willingly know by what series of investigations he came to the conclusion, that the romances of the Round Table originated in England. He ought to have known, that there never existed any originals of these romances in the English language—that the hero was not one of our kings, and was not likely to be claimed as one: he ought further to have known that in England they were first popular not among the *conquered* people, but among those who had succeeded in intruding themselves into our island; and above all he ought to have been aware, that that people was much nearer allied to Saxon than to

Frankish blood; that, instead of being Frenchmen, they were among the greatest and most powerful enemies of the French nation; and that both the conquered and the conquerors were of all others the least likely to have thus created the romantic character of Arthur.

We possess remains of our own national romance, more purely mythic and of much greater antiquity, than any nation which flourished during the middle ages. We can excuse M. Paris's assertion, that we have in England "chansons de geste" whose date mounts *even* as high as the thirteenth century, because he was evidently not aware that we had one, that of Beowulf, which is probably at least six or seven centuries older. There are still many traces of the older mythic romances of the Germans, and of the Northern nations—and it is not improbable, from the mention of some of their personages in the French romances, (as of Weland, for instance), that the northern cycles were known at an early period in France, perhaps through the medium of the Normans, the influence of whose language and traditions seems to have lasted after they had themselves adopted the *romanz* tongue. Perhaps there existed also an old mythic cycle among the people of Bretagne, of whom so much has been said, and so often—some hero named Arthur may have figured in it. The name and history of the Saxon hero Beowulf were alike forgotten among the English of a later period—the name of Arthur, on the contrary, whose history perhaps was misunderstood, and his character misapplied, may have been regenerated in forming that cycle of middle age romance, the origin of which it seems so difficult even to conjecture.

There seems to have been another class of Anglo-Saxon romances, more peculiarly native to England, because much more modern than that class of which Beowulf is now the representative, whose subjects belonged to the wars between the Saxons and the Danes. The original Saxon poems are now entirely lost. A class of romances which told of the struggles against the Danish invaders—whose ravages were so long remembered, and at the period of the breaking up of the Saxon language so recent—could hardly have failed to give rise to traditions among the people. We know that these traditions were long preserved, and that they often fixed the scene of the story to particular places. Similar traditions, if we trust the details of Pausanias, had originated in the East from the early popularity of the Grecian mythic cycles. Many of the Saxon romances, of which we are speaking, appeared in Middle-English, where they were either transformations of the original Saxon poems, or else poems built upon the traditions to which they had given rise. The popularity of these

romances caused them to be translated into Norman-French, at a period as early, if not earlier, than that of the translations from French into English. Their existence has entirely exploded the old notion that England never possessed any native romances. Even had the originals of these romances been in Norman, they would still have been, strictly speaking, English romances—the stories were English, and the Norman versions were in all probability written in England—and we should truly be surprised to find a copy of Horn or of Havelok in an early French manuscript along with a " chanson de geste."

In addition to the internal evidence of the fact which these romances afford us, we have in one instance a direct assertion of the French poem having been a translation from the English. One of the romances, which is connected with the story of the struggles of the Saxons with the Danes, is preserved in French metre, under the title of King Atla. Among the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, we find a Latin prose version of this romance, under the name of King Waldeus, made by John Bromis, or Bramis, a monk of Thetford, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, according to the saying—

" De Thetford Monachus Bramis edidit ista Johannes."

This manuscript belonged to the monastery of Thetford, and is probably the original copy of Bramis's translation, which was there in the days of Leland. The translator, in his preface, states that it was originally written in English verse; and that, at the desire of a lady who could not read the English, it was translated into French verse, from which he had translated it into Latin, having also consulted, as it would seem, a mutilated copy of the original English.* This latter, he tells us, was divided into cantoes, a mode of division which was omitted in the French version. The names in this romance are mostly Saxon and Danish—the plot is laid chiefly in East Anglia—Colchester is held by the Saracens, (Danes,) and is besieged by Waldeus—and more than one battle takes place in the neighbourhood of Thetford: one,

* " *Incipit prologus super hystoriam Waldei quondam Norffolchie Suffolchieque regis eximii de Gallicis et Anglicis verbis in Latinum translatus.*

" Primitus subsequens regis Waldei filiorumque hystoria suorum in lingua Anglica metrice composita est. Deinde ad instanciam cujusdam femine, que ipsam penitus linguam nesciret, quam non alio quam amice nomine voluit indagare, a quodam in linguam Gallicam est translata. At vero novissime eandem historiam non solum seniorum preceptis et ut verecundans dico rogatibus scilicet ipsis ecclesie a quoque intuitu difficilia queque et ardua celeri lenitate mustescunt muneribus compulsus sum hac de causa in Latinum transferre sermonem. Ejusdem historie pars quedam usque ad quartam hujus operis partem continuata in ipsa lingua qua primo fuerat conscripta reperta est. que in tm̃ legencium sensus in suum protraxit officium (*officium*), ut reliquam ejusdem historie porcionem, que nusquam in ipsa Anglica lingua, quamvis in Gallica repperiri poterat, gravi penetencia deflerent."—*MS. Bibl. C. C. C. Cambr.* No. 329.

for instance, between that place and Rowdham, and another towards Elveden. John Bramis assures us that the French translator took many liberties with his story: the narrative, as he has given it to us, for we have not had an opportunity of examining the French romance, would naturally lead us to this conclusion; and, as an instance, we may quote that error into which all the French translators fell. The later Saxons, after the crusade, used the word *saracen* in the sense of *pagan*, and commonly applied it to the pagans of the north. The French poets, whose thoughts ran more upon the *saracens* of Spain and Africa, misunderstood the application of the word: and Waldeus, who in the original fought so valiantly against the *saracens* in East Anglia, is by the French translators sent into Valencia to fight the saracen king of Spain.*

The romance of Havelok is, in the French, called a "lai," and the writer confesses that it is a translation, though he calls his original a lay of the Bretons:—

"Haveloc fut cil roi nomé,
Et Cuaran est appellé.
Pur ceo vus voil de lui conter
Et s'aventure remembrer;
Q'un lai en firent li Breton,
Si l'appellèrent de son nom,
Et Haveloc et Cuarant."—(*Lai d'Hav.* v. 17.)†

And, at the end, he tells us that it was the strong traditional remembrance of his deeds among the people, which caused the lay of his history to be made—

"Haveloc tint en sa baillie
Nicole et tote Lindesie,
.Xx. anz regna, si en fut rois;
Assez conquist par ses Danois;
Mult fu de li grant parlance:
Li auncien par remenbrance
Firent un lai de sa victoire."—(v. 1097.)‡

That, however, the history of Havelok could ever have been a Breton story, or that the names which occur in it could have had a place there, is much more than improbable. If the term

* Even the monks, in their chronicles, fell sometimes into the same error—the name of the African king, mentioned in the following paragraph, is essentially northern.—Anno D.xc.iiij^to. Germundus rex Affricorum et Ysembertus nepos regis Francorum Britanniam vastaverunt, Cristianitatem adnichilaverunt."—*Chronicon Winton. MS. Cotton.* Domit. A. xiii.

† "Haveloc was that king named, and he was also called Cuaran. For this reason will I tell you of him, and recall to memory his story; because the Bretons made a lay of him, which they called after his name, both Haveloc and Cuaran."

‡ "Haveloc held in his dominion Lincoln and all Lindesey; twenty years he reigned and was king of it; he conquered enough by means of his Danes. There was full great talk of him: the ancients in his memory made a lay of his victory."

"Breton lay" were not from the first a name without substance, it seems clear that, at the time of the writer of the French Havelok, the signification of the term was by no means distinctly understood: he, misled perhaps by the equivocal meaning of the word "Bretagne," seems to have considered his English original as one of them; for that an original English Havelok existed we think no one who has attentively read the French poem can doubt. The writer of the latter seems to have been equally well acquainted with the English poem, and with the numerous popular traditions concerning its hero, which certainly at that time existed in England.

Of the three stories of English growth, which are spoken of collectively in the passage quoted by Warton, from a manuscript at Oxford, (three of what M. Paris would term our "chansons de geste,")—

> "Of [H]eveloke, Horne, and of Wade,
> In romances that of them be made,"

two still exist both in English and in French verse. The romance of Horn seems to have been popular in every form, and we have, in French and in English, no fewer than six manuscripts of it. The manuscript of the French version of Horn, which is preserved at Cambridge, and which we have indicated at the head of our article, is by much the best, but it is unfortunately defective at the beginning and end by the loss of two or three leaves. It is of the thirteenth century. The other two, one in the Harleian MS. No. 627, the other in a manuscript which belonged to the late Mr. Douce, and which is now at Oxford, are but fragments, and supply very little of what is wanting in the other, though they afford some valuable readings, and one of them acquaints us with the name of the Norman poet who wrote it, who is there called Thomas.*

The Cambridge MS. of the French Horn, as it now begins, introduces to us Horn and his companions wandering on the waves. God, it says, gave them a north-west wind—

> "He gave them there a wind. from the northwest blowing.
> Which drove them to Bretagne. where Hunlaf then was king.
> A powerful king, I ween. right brave and rich was he.
> A pious man he was. and loved well loyalty."†

* We have printed our extracts from this romance exactly as they stand in the manuscript of Cambridge. As we cannot suppose all our readers to be conversant in this antiquated language, wherever we have thought it absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the thread of the story, we have given in the text a loose rhyming version, in which we have endeavoured to imitate the style and manner of the original, even to the marking of the pauses at the middle and end of the lines by a period.

† "Ki un vent lor dona. del norwest ventant.
Ki en Bretaigne les mist. ú Hunlaf fu manant.
Un rei mut poestif. riches hom e vaillant.
De grant religiun. leaute mut amant."

They land in Bretagne, and are found by Herlant, the seneschal of King Hunlaf, who inquires their business there; and after having learnt from Horn their history, takes them with him to the court, and presents them to the king. Hunlaf again questions Horn as to his parentage, and the latter tells him—

" Mis peres fud uns bers. vaillant hom durement.
Aaluf ad a num. si ma geste ne ment.
En Suddene fu nez. si la teint longement.
Reis Silauf le trova. sil norrit bonement.
Apres fu konev. par Deu comandement.
Quil iert de geste real. descendu veirement.
Newu fu Baderouf. de sa fille al cors gent.
Goldeburc out e num. a sun baptismement.
Ne sai si unc oistes. de reis tel parlement.
Pruz e hardi furent. de bon contenement.
Des anmes ait merci. li reis omnipotent.
Quant coe fud konev. ke Aalof fud bien ne.
Qu'il fu nefs Baderof. le bon e lalose.
Ki iert sur Alemauns. enperere clame.
Dunc li ad reis Silaus. par grant amur done.
Une fille qu'il out. le vis out colure.
E onoc li dona. apres sei sun regne.
Di cest dunt ioe vus di. sui ioe ioius e led."—fol. 4. r°.

He then tells him how the Saracens, under their King Rodmond, had invaded Suddene, put to death his father and all his relations, and how Rodmond, finding him and his companions concealed in the garden, and unwilling to stain his own hands with the blood of children so fair, had exposed them on the sea.

" And thus Rodmund saved us, the king of Africans."*

The king, satisfied of the good parentage of Horn, caused him to be treated as his own son, and as he grew up he was respected and renowned for his skill, his humility, his valour, and his generosity. King Hunlaf had an only daughter, the beautiful Rigmel. Her hand had been sought by many princes and noble barons; but she had heard of Horn, of his prowess and his beauty, and her heart selected him as the only one worthy of her love.

One Pentecost, the king held a full court, an annual festival, attended by many barons and ladies of different lands. It was the custom for all the barons to take this opportunity of presenting, for the first time, their sons who were just arrived at manhood. Horn was presented, and was appointed to bear the cup in the hall. The Princess Rigmel had hitherto been sage and discreet, and had concealed her passion, but she now determined to seek an interview with Horn, and for that purpose despatched

* " Ainz nuns livera Rodmund. cel rei Affricanz."—fol. 5. r°.

her confidential maid, Herselot, to summon her father's seneschal to her presence. The maiden found Herland in the hall, standing beside a rich and powerful baron of the neighbourhood, called Godfrei—she delivered her message, and the seneschal soon after attended upon Rigmel. She gave him wine and clarey, for which purpose Rabel, the butler, had brought the royal cup; and she presented him with several gifts, among which was a ring,—

" And first there the maiden. to Herland gave a ring.
Large and rich, which was forged. in the time of Daniel.
For well I wot 'twas made by. the goldsmith Marcel."*

and a horse, which she sent her Squire Bertin to order of Blanchard. Herland, overcome by her persuasions and her promises, engaged to bring Horn into her presence the following day, but, after leaving her, he began to feel some presentiments that the result might be ill, and he determined to take, in place of Horn, Haderof, one of his companions, who bore some resemblance to him. Rigmel spent the night anxiously and restlessly, and told Herselot how she desired Horn for her husband.

" Dame, dist Herselot. vus l'averez iol devin.
Un avisiun vi. par qei sai k'ert issin.
Qu'il vus fist un gent dun. d'un faukun muntarsin.
El sein le metiez. de desuz l'osterin.
Si nel donissez pas. pur le regne Pepin.
Bien sai ke c'iert un fiz. ke averez del meschin.
E la lei fausera. Tervagan e Apollin.
Et par lui, si il vit. murra meint barbarin."—fol. 14. r°.

Rigmel was a little comforted by Herselot's dream. In the morning her impatience returned; she sent Herselot to the seneschal, who was at dinner, to remind him of his promise. After dinner he brought to her Haderof, who, when she began to speak of Horn, joined in his praise, asserting that there

" Was none better than he. between Norway and Frise."†

Rigmel discovered quickly the deceit which had been practised upon her, called directly her nurse and minstrel, " Godswiþ," who knew Horn, and was so furious, that the seneschal, to appease her, promised to bring Horn himself the next day. The impatience of the princess, as the time of meeting approached, is well described—twice she sent Herselot to hasten the seneschal. At length Horn came; his beauty was such that she thought him an angel, and she at once declared to him her love,

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* " Al premier ad done. á Herland un anel.
Gros, dorquit Melekin. des le tems Daniel.
Fud forgie, s'il forga. li orfievere Marcel."

† " Ke n'ad meillur de lui. entre Norweie e Frise."

giving to him for a token of it a ring, and telling him to be discreet, as she feared to be beaten if their intercourse should be known. Horn was modest, represented himself as a poor orphan, and unworthy of her, but before taking his leave he promised to be her lover after he had proved by his deeds that he was worthy of her favour.

In the mean time came the Saracens into the land of Hunlaf—

" D'Aufrike sunt eissu. dui rei de grant puissance.
Ki onc Deu ne amerent. coe fud doel e mltaunce.
Freres erent Rodmund. un rei de surquidance.
Ki ocist Aalof. le rei de grant vaillaunce.
Le pere a icest Horn. qu'avom ci en balaunce.
* * * *
E vus porrez oir. si ne faites noisaunce.
Ke cist vindrent od ost. d'orguil e de bobaunce.
En la terre Hunlaf. ki iert en seguraunce.
A un port ariverent. k'om apele Constaunce.
Reis Gudolf e Egolf. furent icist nomez.
Ki en la terre Hunlaf. sunt ore arivez.
E od aus sunt venu. d'Aufrike granz barnez.
Feluns e surquidez. de bataille adure."—fol. 26. r°.

The Saracens ravaged the land miserably, and sent a messenger to Hunlaf, commanding that he should do their will and worship " Mahun," on penalty of losing his head and all his riches. The king held a " parlement" to consider the message, and Horn offered to go against the infidels, as soon as he should be knighted. " Dan Moroan," one of the king's men, brought the " adubs," and Horn was scarcely armed after the ceremony, when one of the Saracens, Marmorin, a great and hideous giant, born in Canaan, who had been in Suddene with Rodmund, and had been accessary to the death of Aalof, brought a challenge to the court. Horn accepted the challenge himself, and, after a terrible combat, told entirely in the style of French romances, avenged his father by cutting off the giant's head. The Christians were comforted by the success of their hero—the army was put in order, the guards were all on the walls, and Horn, with a penon " d'un cendal de Russie," which Rigmel had sent him, issued forth, mounted on a horse of Hungary. Horn ordered his men to advance silently, that they might surprise " icele gent faéé"—they passed a vale " d'une selve raméé," and came to the port where the fleet was anchored, and where their enemies had landed, and were lying securely in the meadows. A terrible combat followed—many a head did Horn separate from its body—he slew " Eghulf," and the infidels were defeated, but " Godelof" escaped to his ship, and fled with what remained of the pagan army. The poem

gives us the names of some of the infidels who were slain. Among those killed by Horn was Turlin of Tabarine, a relation of King Godelof—Haderof slew Gibelin, constable and cousin-german to the king—another of the infidels who fell in the battle was named Malbruart. At length the pagans throughout the whole land were reduced to subjection.

Horn had now shown himself worthy of Rigmel, and they exchanged vows of fidelity; but Wikele, one of Horn's companions, was a traitor: he had asked a gift of Horn, which the latter had already given to Haderof—he refused that which Horn proffered him instead—and in revenge he betrayed to the king the intercourse between Horn and his daughter. The king was at first incredulous, but he was convinced by being made a secret spectator of an interview between the two lovers—was enraged beyond measure—reproached Horn with his conduct while he was out hunting—and banished him from his kingdom. The whole court lamented the loss of Horn. The last interview between the latter and Rigmel was very distressing: before parting they exchanged rings, that of the princess possessing many virtues.

> " Who bore this ring upon him. might all his foes defy;
> For not in fire or water. 'twould be his fate to die.
> Nor yet in battle stern. or lordly tournament."*

Horn, after leaving the princess, went towards the sea, attended by his companions who had accompanied him from Suddene. On the shore he bade adieu to them all; and, having adopted the name of Gudmod to conceal his true name and station, he set sail for Westir.

> " To Westir he would go. a kingdom of great fame.
> In ancient times, I wot. 'twas Ireland bore that name.
> There dwelt King Godreche. a full rich king was he.
> Two courtly sons he had. of great nobilitie."†

They arrive safely in Ireland, when the poet again observes—

> " Lordings, now is Ireland. what then was call'd Westir."‡

Horn mounted his steed, and met the two sons of Godreche, Egfer and Guffer, who were hawking. In answer to their inquiries, he said that he was a native of Suddene, the son of a poor vavasour—that he had come thither to seek service—and that his

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* " Hom ki l'ad sure sei. ia ne purra perir.
Ne en feu ne en ewe. mar i cremdra murir.
N'en bataille champel, ne en turnei tenir."—fol. 42. r°.

† " En Westir veut aler. ki est regne perisez.
Yrlaunde out si a nun. al tens d'auntiquitez.
La maint un riche rei. Godreche iert nomez.
Dous fiz out francs e pruz. de grant nobilitez."—fol. 43. r°.

‡ " Seignurs or est Yrlande. lors fu Westir noméé."—fol. 44. r°.

name was Gudmod. Egfer retained him in his service, and promised him rich gifts. The king soon observed Horn in the train of his son, and, when brought into his presence, Horn repeated the same story, adding, that he had escaped from the pagans who had ravaged his country, and that he had been in Bretagne. "Gudreche" would not believe that a poor man had ever begotten such a son; he had been in Suddene—knew Aalof and his son—and declared that he had never seen any one so like Horn as was Gudmod. Gudmod replied that a poor man often resembled a rich one, and so the conversation ended. The queen, Gudborc, now entered the hall, with her two beautiful daughters, Lenburc and Sudburc. The wine was served in the hall by a valet, whose name was Guidhere. "Lenburc" herself sent the cup to Horn; at this first interview she fell deeply in love with him, and at night she sent her valet to call him to her chamber; but Horn would not listen to her proposals. Meanwhile he showed himself, in all manly exercises, superior to the rest of the court. At Pentecost there was a great feast and games. A person named Eglaf (in other passages called Eggulf and Eggeals) excelled the rest, and was very proud and presumptuous, to the great annoyance of Horn's master, the prince Egfer. Gudmod accepted Eglaf's challenge, and beat him at throwing. After this, the harp being produced, Gudmod offers to play a lay, and sings the loves of Horn and Rigmel in Bretagne. "Guffer" said that he had heard of Horn's renown. Lenburc, who became more and more enamoured of Gudmod, then took the harp, and sung a lay of a Breton called Baltof.

One day came the Africans to Westir—

"One day two cruel tyrants. came sailing o'er the sea.
And they have enter'd Westir. with their fleet all vauntingly.
These kings came, as they tell us. from the land of Africa.
And brothers were of Rodmund. who Suddene held in sway.
Horn's father, king Aalof. these recreants had slain:
And 'twas their brother, Eggulf. whom Horn slew in Bretagne.

* * * *

The elder of these kings. his name was Hildebrant.
And the younger, I wot well. was called Herebrant.
A nephew they had with them. Rollac Fitz-Goldebrant."*

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* "A un ior sunt venu. dui mut felun tirant.
El regne de Westir. od lur flote siglant.
Il erent fors eissuz. del regne Affricant.
Freres erent Rodmund. ki Suddene iert tenant.
Aaluf pere Horn. destrustrent le vaillant.
E freres sunt a ces. dunt ot este vengant.
En Bretaigne quant fu. od Hunlaf le puissant.

* * *

Li ainz nez di ces dous. si ot nun Hildebrant.
E li autre pusonez. nomez iert Herebrant.
Un neuov out od eus. Rollac fiz Goldebrant."—fol. 59. r°.

They arrive at the port—

" When at the port arrived. the recreant Saracens.
To the king they sent Don Rollac. with insolent demand.
This Rollac was the son. of rich Sultan Gudbrand.
Nor better knight there liv'd, I ween. in Saracen domain.
Nephew he was of Rodlac. who Aalof had slain."*

Gudbrant, we are afterwards informed, was Sultan of Persia. Rollac arrived at the court with the demands of the Saracens, and was proud and insolent.

" Nor was there better vassal. in the land of Africa."†

When he had delivered his message, Gudmod replied fiercely, and challenged him to battle; in the encounter Gudmod was almost overcome, when, casting his eye on Rigmel's ring, and learning, at the same time, that Rollac was the person who had killed his father, he recovered new strength, and slew the infidel. Then followed a terrible battle, which is described at great length, and in which the pagans were entirely discomfited. Among the slain was Egfer, the master of Gudmod. Gudreche sent for a king of Orkenie, and would have given Gudmod his daughter Lenburc and his kingdom. Gudmod declined the offer, alleging that he was not worthy of so great honour, that he had formed an alliance with the daughter of a vavasour in Bretagne, and that he should be guilty of disloyalty in accepting the hand of another. While in the hall one day, a palmer arrived—

" En la sale est entre. li paumer pelerin.
Escreppe ot e burdun. e un chapeau feutrin.
Par mi coe qe pouere iert. bien semblot de bon lin.
La ú vit seeir Horn. la tint dreit sun chemin.
Bien conut sa facun. e le vis qu'ot rosin.
E tresqu'il vint a li. a ses piez chiet enclin."—fol. 76. r°.

The palmer addressed Horn by his own name—said that he was himself the son of Herland—and informed him that Wikele had put to death his father for his partiality to Horn—and that he had sought the latter in different lands during three years. He now begged that he would speed to Bretagne, to assist the party of Herland, and to rescue the fair Rigmel, who was about to marry the King of Fenenie. Horn distrusted the pilgrim, telling him that palmers were always liars, and alleging that it was improbable that Rigmel would marry another while Horn lived. " No,"

* " Al port sunt arrive. li culvert Sarazin.
Al rei ont enveie. dan Rollac un meschin.
Fiz le riche soudan. dan Gudbrand le meschin.
N'out si bon chevaler. en la lei Apollin.
Nieff esteit Rodlac. ki Aalof mist a fin."—fol. 60. r°.

† " Ni out meillor vassal. el regne Affricant."—fol. 61. r°.

said the pilgrim, " if she had her own will, but her father and Wikele force her to the match." Horn prepared to leave Ireland; the king was grieved, and again offered him his daughter and his kingdom, and his aid in rescuing Suddene from the pagans who had usurped it; but the attachment of the young prince to Rigmel was above all other feelings and motives; he set sail with a party of men, well armed; they soon arrived at a port in Bretagne, which was surrounded by wood, and there they concealed themselves, while Horn rode on in search of intelligence, armed only with his sword. He met a palmer, who told him that the court was at Lyons, where the marriage of Modin, the king of Fenenie, with the princess Rigmel, was on the eve of being celebrated. Horn exchanged garments with the palmer—advanced towards the city, and rested under a pine tree, whence he saw King Modin, who was newly arrived, enter Lyons in company with Wikele. It seemed these two were now intimate friends. When they swore, which it appears they did not unfrequently, their form of adjuration was " Wite God." They admired the good make of the pretended pilgrim, and invited him to the feast. Rigmel served the wine in hall—

" Costume iert aidonc. en icele contréé.
Ke quant aveneit si. ke dame iert espuséé.
Si ele pucele fust. k'el ne fust essaiéé.
Ke del beivere servist. tut itaunt de fiéé.
Com li senescha! mangast. od cel autre mesnéé.
E quant oust coe fait. apres sa reposéé.
Armes deveit porter. cil a qui fust donéé.
Par defors la cite. ú en champ u en préé."—fol. 85. r°.

Rigmel accordingly, after having dressed herself for the occasion, filled the horn, and served round the wine. When she offered it to the palmer, he refused to drink. She, piqued by this piece of unpoliteness, demanded why he would not take the horn—

" Ne purquant, si li dit. or me dites bea chier.
Quant beivere ne volez. ke deit le demaunder.
Dous feiz l'ai aporte. n'en vousistes guster.
Al semblant que ioe vei. le corage avez fier."

Horn then threw in the ring, and made himself known to her. During the conversation which follows between them, Horn perceived that he was noticed by Wikele, left the court, and joined his companions. Rigmel rode out, attended by Haderof, to carry the arms of her husband, according to the custom. Horn, who with his troop had been concealed by the trees, suddenly made his appearance, and struck Modin from his horse. Modin's men came to rescue him, but in vain, for Horn blew his horn, and his companions hastened to his aid. Modin and Horn were then

suddenly reconciled, they entered the city together; Horn and Rigmel were married; Wikele was punished, as it was right he should be; and there was a great feast, in the middle of which the MS. ends abruptly.

A very slight comparison of the French Horn with the early English romance of the same hero will convince us that the latter is not a translation. The parts of the French story which are not found in or differ from the English are exactly such as would be added by a French translator from the English, but such as are quite as likely as the rest to be retained by an English translator from the French. The names which are not in the English are generally such names as the French romancers were in the habit of introducing in their tales of the Wars with the Saracens; such, for example, as Herselot, Godfrei, Bertin, Blanchard, Moroan, Marmorin, Turlin, Gibelin, and Malbruart: in the English romance, on the contrary, the names are all good Saxon and Danish. The latter contains nothing about Africans, or sultans of Persia, or single combats with pagan giants, or assemblies at Pentecost, when all the French romance heroes held their courts. In one instance the French poet has retained the þ which was used in spelling the Saxon name; and when he would refer to authority for his story, he generally quotes "*the parchment.*" For example, speaking of Rodlac, fol. 60. r°.—

" Cist ocis Aaloff. com dit le parchemin."

And again, when Horn had changed habits with the palmer,—fol. 82. r°.—

" E Horn ci est ad turne. com dit le parchemin."

The two exemplars of the English romance of Horn, which are preserved, are both perfect. The one (MS. Bibl. Publ. Camb. Gg. 4, 27) is of the thirteenth century, and the other, (MS. Harl. No. 2253,) like many of the articles in the manuscript where it is found, is in all probability the copy of one of the same period.

In the Cambridge copy, the father of Horn was Murry, his mother Godhild. In the Harleian MS. they are named Allof and Godylt. Horn himself was a very promising youth—" nas non his i-liche."—

" Twelf feren he hadde,
That alle with him ladde;
Alle riche mannes sones,
And alle hi were faire gomes,
With him for to pleie:
And mest he luvede tweie;
That on him het Hathulf child,
And that other Fykenild.

Athulf was the beste,
And Fikenylde the werste." *

One summer's day the king was riding along the sea-shore, where he saw fifteen ships of Saracens, (*i. e.* Danish pirates,) who landed, conquered the kingdom, put to death the King Murry, seized upon Horn and his companions, and slew all who would not forswear their faith and become Pagans. The Queen Godhild escaped, and concealing herself in a cave in a rock, she there continued to exercise the Christian faith. The Saracen "admiral," pitying Horn, yet fearing to let him grow to manhood, exposed him with his companions in a boat on the sea. Here begins the Cambridge manuscript of the French poem.

When they landed in Westernesse, (not, as the French has it, in Bretagne,) they met with King Almair, or, as he is afterwards called, Aylmor, who demanded of Horn whence they came, and on what errand. After hearing his story, how he was Horn of Suddene, and had been expelled his country by the infidels, the king took him to his palace, and gave him to the care of his steward, Athelbrus.

"Forth he clupede Athelbrus,
That was stiward of his hus:
'Stiward, tak nu here
Mi fundlyng for to lere
Of thine mestere,
Of wude and of rivere;
And tech him to harpe
With his nayles scharpe,
Bivore me to kerve,
And of the cupe serve.
Thu tech him of alle the liste
That thu evre of wiste;
In his feiren thou wise
Into othere servise;
Horn thu undervonge,
And tech him of harpe and songe.'" †

Horn soon excelled in all manly accomplishments, and gained the love of Rimenhild, the king's only child. The story of their love is much the same as in the French, except that it has little of the details of the latter, and no maid "Herselot" is introduced.

The story of the battle between Horn and the Saracens also differs much in the two versions. In the English, when Horn, after having been knighted by the influence of Rimenhild, leaves her to seek an opportunity of proving his valour; he takes his

* *Gloss. nas*, (i. e. *ne was*,) was not—*i-liche*, equal—*feren*, companions—*gomes*, lads (Sax. *guma*)—*pleie*, play—*mest*, most—*luvede tweie*, loved two—*het*, called.

† *Gloss. clupede*, called—*hus*, house—*nu*, now—*lere*, teach—*mestere*, craft—*bivore*, before—*kerve*, carve—*evre*, ever—*wiste*, know—*undervonge*, undertake.

horse and rides towards the shore, and there finds a ship of Saracens, who come to ravage the land. At his last visit Rimenhild had given him a ring, by looking on which, and at the same time thinking of her, he would always come off victorious. He looks on his ring, attacks the troop of Saracens who were landed, kills many, drives away the rest, and brings the head of their chieftain to the king. There is no giant " Marmorin," as we might suppose from his name. The treachery of Fykenild is foreboded to Rimenhild in a dream. The king, at the instigation of the traitor, returns from his hunting, finds Horn in Rimenhild's bosom—

" He fond Horn in arme
On Rymenhilde barme," *

and drives him away. Horn takes leave of his " lemman"—

" Rymenhild, have wel godne day:
No leng abiden I ne may;
Into uncuthe londe
Wel more for to fonde.
I schal wune there
Fulle seve zere:
At seve zeres ende,
Zef I ne come ne sende,
Tak the husebonde:
For me thu ne wonde" †—

and sails to " Westene londe," where he meets the king's two sons, Harild (or as it is spelt in another place, perhaps more correctly, Alrid) and Berild. The MS. Harl. calls the first Athyld. Horn called himself Cutberd, (in the Harl. MS. Godmod,) and said he came from the West:—

" Cutberd, he sede, ihc hote,
I-comen ut of the bote
Wel fer fram bi weste
To seche mine beste." ‡

Berild took him to his father's hall, where he was courteously received by the king, whose name was Thurston. The story of the love of the king's daughter for Horn is only in the French, and is, perhaps, but a repetition of that of Rimenhild. Horn slays the giant who had killed his father in the battle with the Saracens, in which both the princes fell. Then it is that Thurston offers Horn his only daughter, called in the Cambridge copy, Reynild; in the Harleian, Ermenild.

It is curious that the Harleian MS. also, in one instance, at v.

* *Gloss. Rymenhilde*, Rymenhild's—*barme*, bosom.

† *Gloss. godne*, good (accusative)—*leng*, longer—*uncuthe*, strange—*wune*, dwell—*seve zere*, seven years—*zef*, if—*the*, thee—*wonde*, stay.

‡ *Gloss. ihc*, I—*hote*, am named—*i-comen*, come—*ut*, out—*bote*, boat—*fer*, far—*seche*, seek.

873, calls the father of Horn by the name of Murry, a circumstance which has led Warton into the error of supposing Murry to be the Saracen king who had invaded Suddene. It would seem, therefore, that the writer of that manuscript had the French story, or some older English one in his mind, that he had designedly changed the name of the king to Allof, but that he misunderstood this passage, and supposed Murry here to be some other person.

The king who was to have married Rimenhild was—

"King Modi of Reynes,
On of Hornes enemies."

She sent a messenger to seek Horn in strange lands, who at length arrived in Thurston's kingdom, and there met Horn, who was riding, and told him his errand. Horn went to the king, and demanded assistance to rescue Rimenhild, which was immediately granted to him.

"He dude writes sende
Into Yrlonde,
After kniztes lizte,
Irisse men to fizte.
To Horn come i-noze,
That to schupe droze.
Horn dude him in the weie
On a god galeie." *

The story of Horn's arrival in Westernesse, and of his bridal with Rimenhild, also differs very much from the same story as told by the French poet. After the marriage, and before its consummation, Horn with his Irishmen hastened to Suddene to rescue it from the hands of the infidels, leaving Rimenhild under the care of her father. The expedition to Suddene was successful, and Horn was rejoiced to find his mother still alive in her cave in the rock. In the mean while, Fykenild had again proved treacherous, had built a strong castle, in which he confined Rimenhild, with the intention of forcing her to another marriage. Horn hastened to Westernesse: with a few of his companions in the disguise of harpers, he succeeded in entering the castle of Fykenild, slew Fykenild himself while at table, and rescued his bride.

Singularly enough, there is preserved a second English romance of Horn, certainly much more modern in its present form than the other, yet which would seem to have been formed on a still older model; and which, though it has no appearance of having been translated from the French poem, has several curious coincidences with it. All these circumstances, perhaps, only tend to

* *Gloss. dude*, did, caused—*lizte*, light—*fizte*, fight—*schupe*, ship—*droze*, drew.

show that there was a poem on the adventures of Horn much older than those which now exist.* Though the " Horn Childe and Maiden Rimnild" of the Auchinlec MS., like all the other articles of that volume, bears no marks of northern dialect, yet that version of the story seems evidently to have been one formed on the traditional ideas of a person who lived in the north of England. The name of one of the kings of the invading army, Malkan, and the whole story as here told, seem to show that the traditions fixed its date to the period when the Irish Danes, in conjunction with the Scots, were wont to invade the northern parts of our land.

The name of Horn's father is, in this poem, Hatheolf, and he ruled over all England north of the Humber. Horn's companions were " eight knaue childer," whom the king entrusted to the care of his steward Arlaund, who was " to lern hem to ride." Meanwhile the Danes invaded the northern counties of England, and had collected their plunder ready to be borne to their ships in Clevelaud:—

" Alle her pray to schip thai bere,
In Clifland bi Tese side."

When these tidings were brought to King Hatheolf, he assembled his army on " Alerton more," and hastened to attack the invaders while they were still in Cleveland:—

" In a morning thai bigan,
Of al that day thai no blan,
That baleful werk to wirke:
Sides thai made blo and wan,
That er were white so fether on swan,
Whiche gamen man aught irke.
When that even bicam,
The Danis men were al slan,
It bigan to mirke.
Whoso goth or rideth ther-bi,
Yete may men see ther bones ly
Bi Seynt Sibiles kirke."

After this victory, the king rode a-hunting on " Blakeowe more," and, after having given a feast at Pickering, he went to York, and there met Arlaund with Horn, and caused his subjects to swear fealty to the latter as his successor. Nine months afterwards came three kings out of Ireland:—

* We have an additional and decisive argument for the existence of this romance in a much earlier form, in the striking resemblance between it and the earlier part of the history of the Saxon Hereward, which can only be accounted for on the supposition that popular enthusiasm had applied the circumstances of a romance to the history of an individual.

" Out of Yrlond com kinges thre ;
Ther names can y telle the
Wele withouten les.
Ferwele and Winwald wern ther to,
Malkan king was on of tho,
Proude in ich a pres :
At Westmerland stroyed thay,
The word com on a Whissonday
To king Hatheolf at his des."

He assembled his host, and met the Irish army on " Staynes more." In the battle two of the Irish kings were slain, but Hatheolf himself fell by the hand of Malkan, after having been overpowered by the multitude of his assailants. The Irish withdrew to their own country, but " an erl of Northumberland," taking occasion of the death of the king, and of the minority of his son, seized upon his kingdom, and Arlaund fled with Horn to the court of Houlac, a king who reigned " fer southe in Inglond." Here his intercourse with the king's only daughter, Rimneld, was discovered by Wigard and Wikele, and he was obliged to fly the country. Horn now took the name of Godebounde, and rode west till he came to Wales. He there met a knight in the midst of a forest, who conducted him to king " Elydan," who held his court at " Snowedoune," where he obtained great favour.

While he resided at Snowdon, Elydan's son Finlak, who was a king in Ireland, sent messengers to request aid against the same Irish who had invaded Horn's own country. The messengers returned with a favourable answer, and were accompanied by Horn himself.

" Hem com an haven wele to hand,
That Yolkil is cleped in Irland,
The court was ther biside.
Finlawe king ther thai fande,
For to here titheande
Ozain hem gan ride."

The king of Wales with his men was detained by contrary winds ; Horn and the two sons of the Irish king with their army were obliged to fight against superior numbers ; the two princes were taken and put to death, and Horn wounded, though not till after he had slain Malkan, whose death was followed by the defeat of the invading army. Finlak's daughter, Acula, tended Horn's wounds, and became deeply enamoured of him. She declared to him her love, but he was faithful to Rimneld, and, the seven years of his absence being passed, with a hundred knights he set out to visit her, rescued her from king " Moging," who would have married her, slew Wigard, and compelled Wikele to confess his treason, and returned to Northumberland, to recover

his hereditary possessions, which, it appears, had been usurped by Thorbrond. Here the poem ends abruptly by a defect of the MS.

The "chansons de geste," whether French or English, form a curious and valuable class of the literary productions of the middle ages. We are inclined to attribute their formation generally to the thirteenth century—but they were evidently made upon some older models. Perhaps some of them preserve much of the character and circumstance of those models, whilst others, again, are little better than modern imitations founded upon some circumstance or some character to which the others have contained allusions. Our own romances of this class are peculiarly interesting to us, as being, perhaps, the last form which the Saxon romances took; and, though the stories in their present shape belong all to the wars with the Danes in England, we are by no means sure that some of them are not modern versions of the older mythic legends, which, in the traditions that lived amongst the people, were applied to times with which that people was more familiar, and to places in the land where they then dwelt. Thus, the different versions of the romance of Horn, as well as the history of Hereward's younger days, may all be so many different appropriations of an early and purely Saxon legend. We should welcome the appearance of a complete collection of these romances in the English and French versions, which should include Horn, king Atla, with illustrations from the Latin Waldeus, Havelok, Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hampton, &c. The English Horn, from the Harleian manuscript, has been printed (with that of the Auchinlec manuscript) very badly by Ritson in his metrical romances. M. Francisque Michel has transcribed and collated the three manuscripts of the French Horn, and we believe it to be his intention to publish an edition in conjunction with one of his English friends, who will prepare for it the English romances on the same subject. The English and French romances of Havelok have been edited for the Roxburgh Club by Sir Frederick Madden, and the French text republished separately at Paris by M. Michel.

The French "chansons de geste" are long and extremely numerous. It seems to have been the design of M. Paris to publish a selection of them, but he announces in the second volume of *Garin li Loherrain* that he has now relinquished the project. We are sorry for this, because his *Garin* is a nice book. Others will, however, in the course of time be published. M. Michel is preparing for publication the very ancient and curious romance of Roncevaux, from the celebrated MS. of Oxford.

ART. VI. *Andeutungen über Landschaftsgärtnerei, verbunden mit ihren praktischen Anwendung in Muskau.* Vom Fürsten von Pückler-Muskau. (*Hints on Landscape Gardening, &c.* By Prince Pückler-Muskau.) Stuttgart, 1834.

OUR readers require not to be informed who Prince Pückler-Muskau is; the translation of his first work carried his name all over the kingdom, yet at that time it was conjectured to be an assumed one by some, who imagined that his princehood and estates existed only *in nubibus*. There is no longer room for any doubt, here being irrefragable evidence that Muskau is something better than a mere creation of the fancy, an arcadian territory embellished by the refined taste of the prince himself, who, after having amused the public by his "Tutti Frutti," here gives them the *fruits* of his own principles and taste in a pursuit which not every author is able to indulge in. This new work will add to his fame, without increasing his popularity, for it addresses itself neither to the lovers of piquant light reading,—nor to their antipodes the utilitarians,—but to that, we fear, decreasing class, who, instead of dividing their time between London and Brighton, or London and the Continent, make their own country demesnes their chief homes, and there contemplate with unsated delight the various beauties which art and nature have contributed to form.

It is not every one, indeed, who is capable of appreciating the charms of landscape scenery, to do which a man must in some degree possess

"A poet's feeling, and a painter's eye;"

and, although it savours strongly of paradox, we may venture to assert that a taste for the charms of landscape scenery is quite as much an acquired as a natural one. No doubt all men have an instinctive fondness for the aspect of nature, inasmuch as it is cheering to the eye and gladdening to the spirits; yet that is altogether different from such delicate perception of all its beauties as is implied by the term taste. Attached as they may be to the scenes amidst which they dwell, the savage and half-civilized man are sensible of no other value in them, be they ever so fair, beyond that which they derive from local associations and impressions; neither are the uneducated, or those who, although "educated," have not cultivated minds, much more susceptible. It is not the peasant who enjoys with the most vivid emotion the loveliness of the rural scenery where his lot may have fixed him; and, as to his employer, he is, perhaps, not at all above him in the scale of sensibility. The farmer, *quoad* farmer, will generally be

found to have his mind more blunted by professional habits of thinking, than excited by familiarity with nature, and the opportunities he has of studying it. He looks at fields and meadows through the most unimaginative medium possible, estimating them not according to their beauty as features in the scene, but according to their produce and its market value. In the first volume of her "Visits and Sketches," Mrs. Jameson has recorded a pleasant anecdote illustrative of this professional obtuseness; and it may be taken as characteristic not of an individual, but of an entire class. People, "whose talk is of bullocks," are not apt to have refined sensibility for intellectual pleasures. If, however, a certain degree of refinement be indispensable for fully relishing the beauties of nature, it does not follow that refinement invariably confers an aptitude for enjoying them.

Forming our notions of their taste in this respect by the scantiness of their allusions to it in their writings, we should say that neither the Greeks nor the Romans possessed any high degree of it, or had an eye for landscape composition. The individual features of it, we allow, are mentioned, and sometimes strung together or catalogued; yet nowhere do we meet with any graphic description, with any one complete and definite picture of natural scenery. Here and there a happy expressive epithet occurs, but all the rest is vague and indistinguishable; the objects are not made out; nor are any of them individualized by those touchings and markings which portray their minuter characteristics. Even the languages of both Greece and Rome appear to have been almost deficient in all those terms which are required for depicting inanimate nature, and many of which we moderns have borrowed from the painter's vocabulary. They have few that indicate form and outline with tolerable precision; still fewer that supply all the variety of colouring which landscape description has occasion for. Words certainly cannot express visible objects with such fulness, clearness, and precision, as to convey exact images of them to the mind; nevertheless it is in the power of verbal description to depict impressively, if not accurately; and it is this graphic quality which we miss in the poets and other writers of antiquity. While they set events, and human actions and passions, before us in all their interest and energy, they disregarded, whether through inability to paint it or not, what relates to the local scene, or background, be it landscape or architecture; and herein they may be said to have adhered to the system of their dramatic representations, which, according to our modern notions, must have been nearly altogether destitute of the illusion produced by scenery. Graphic delineation of the kind here alluded to was not the *forte* of the ancients, nor would it be possible to

collect from their writings any such specimens of verbal landscape painting and pictorial description as those which we have from the pen of Mrs. Radcliffe, or Gray the poet, in his account of the Lakes of Cumberland; certainly no parallel to any one of those brilliant graphic *tableaux* which abound in the novels of Sir Walter Scott, and which are, in themselves, so many gems. Granting that the nature of their writings rarely admitted any display of decided graphic power, that does not account for the absence of it where the subject is professedly descriptive. Lucian's Περὶ τῦ Οἴκυ, and the younger Pliny's celebrated descriptions of his two villas, do not contradict us; for, valuable as they are, being almost the only pieces of the kind that have come down to us, they are so cold, insipid, and formal, so utterly destitute of pictorial quality, that they will not endure the slightest comparison with the landscape and still-life portraiture of the authors above referred to, to say nothing of the total omission of aught that can be deemed critical remark. An artist could make nothing whatever of the Roman consul's two residences and their accessories, whereas Scott's scenery, whether it be out-door or in-door, is so vividly represented to the mental vision, that he has little more to do than take up his pencil and translate into its language that which is so clearly explained in the verbal text. Possibly this apparent deficiency of faculty for the picturesque may have been both cause and effect of the indifference which the ancients seem to have entertained for landscape-painting; and, among all the specimens of ancient painting which have as yet come to light, not one, we believe, furnishes even a decent example of that branch of the art. As far as we are acquainted with them, their pictures have no back-grounds of any kind, or else such miserable apologies for them, presenting such incongruous violations of both linear and aërial perspective, as to afford pretty strong evidence that even the works of their most celebrated artists must have been lamentably deficient in those particulars, unless, as it is most likely, they were dispensed with altogether; otherwise something like a general systematic acquaintance with those two indispensable elements of pictorial representation, as distinguished from sculpture, must have been traceable in very inferior performances of the pencil.

Ancient art seems to have been altogether more *sculpturesque* in its genius than *picturesque;* and not only does this appear to have been the case in regard to the arts of design, but in regard to their poetry likewise, which has far more of the quality of sculpture, relief, and outline, than of painting. Its groupes and figures are accurately defined, but they want the illusive charms of colouring, and the accompaniment of back-ground accessories.

Ancient art limited itself nearly exclusively to the representation of form, and employed itself upon the human figure. So far, then, the ancients appear to have been differently organized from the moderns; for, while gifted with an acute perception of the beauty of the animal form, they seem to have possessed little sensibility for the ever-varying appearances of inanimate nature: since, although they might not have been able to bring them within the reach of art, they would, doubtless, have manifested a more complete recognition of them. Neither Theocritus nor Virgil can be considered a master in the art of depicting rural scenery; with them it consists only of bald, vague generalities, which do not allow us to distinguish any individual features, much less are any of the features themselves expressed with such verity of colouring as to be embodied forth to the imagination.

The Greeks knew nothing of gardening beyond a mere orchard or vegetable ground, with perhaps a formally set out grove of trees. Never do they seem to have at all refined upon the Homeric model of Alcinous's gardens, which, when described in plain prose, are found to have been as unpoetical, and probably far less interesting, than a modern nurseryman's; while those of the elegant Pliny must have been as artificial, as formal, and as quaint, in their disposition as any Dutch *lusthof*. Unless greatly belied by their proprietor himself, of rural or natural beauty they could have possessed nothing, but were altogether too artificial to indicate the delicate skill of art.

Gardening, as an art, is one not only of modern but of very recent invention, for, previously to the early part of the last century, it could hardly be said to exist, unless the most ridiculous contradiction to nature constitutes art; in which case, some of the gardens of an earlier period must have been *chefs-d'œuvre;* since, had the philosophers of Laputa conceived the idea of regulating vegetation by geometry, and exhibiting Euclid's diagrams on a plot of ground, they could not have devised any thing more preposterous than trees clipped into cubes and other mathematical figures, or disposed in formal rank and file. Nevertheless, still do we hear of the genius of Le Nôtre, a man who was absolutely a barbarian or worse in taste, and whose genius seems to have achieved nothing beyond the wonderful discovery that trees may be planted in as regular lines as columns, and that when so planted they will so grow. St. James's Park, which was laid out by him, manifests no genius of any kind;—in fact, it is almost ridiculous to talk of its being "laid out" at all, for we might as well talk of the genius displayed in erecting a line of paling, or in laying out the pavement of a street. But at that period art was altogether so debased and vitiated in France, that

it is no wonder gardening did not escape the general corruption, a corruption which a besoted servility in favour of every thing Gallic extended all over Europe, nor are the ill effects of it entirely overcome even at this day. Another such mischievously influential Mecænas of bad taste as Louis Quatorze might have plunged the world into that very worst and most degraded species of barbarism, which is the second childishness and paralysis of the faculties discriminative of beauty. Le Nôtre was worthy of such a Mecænas. Happily it was reserved for England to emancipate itself and the rest of Europe from the preposterous folly which, under his guidance, waged equal enmity with nature and with art; and, let us be as deficient as we may in the cultivation of the other fine arts, we have, at least, led the way in one, or rather created it altogether. William Kent, who was the very antipode of Le Nôtre, may be considered as the originator of landscape gardening, and in that character his country has as much reason to be proud of him as of any artist it has ever produced. Let it be said that Kent did nothing more than undo the system of his predecessors and return to nature: it was surely no ordinary mind that, in spite of the authority both of ancient and modern times, could discern and adopt what all who had gone before him had overlooked; nor does it detract from his claims upon our gratitude, that in all probability some other individual might in time have done the same, had he neglected it. The fame of Columbus is not the less, because what he accomplished might have been reserved for some other discoverer. Now that Kent has opened our eyes, any body may think that he could have opened his own and those of others, although the eyes of all the world had been almost hermetically sealed up for some scores of ages. Honour then be to William Kent, the father of the art of landscape gardening! of all the fine arts the most humanizing and the most innocuous. With the exception of architecture, all the other fine arts may be, and frequently have been, perverted to minister to grovelling sensuality and vice. Even poetry, so godlike in its energies, has, like an "archangel ruined," oft fallen from its native sphere, and uttered strains worthy of Belial himself. We need not, however, say more on this head, but proceed to inquire whether landscape gardening can legitimately be ranked among the fine arts.

Admirers as we are of this species of gardening, we apprehend that its claims to such rank cannot be substantiated without widening the idea and definition of art, so as to bring it within their scope. It is neither a mimetic or imitative art, nor one of imagination. It is not, like painting, a transcript of nature, but nature itself: not only do all the materials belong to her, but they

are all in fact shaped by her, the office of man being limited to adjusting and disposing them, so as to put her in the way, as it were, of producing a more finished piece than she would do if totally unassisted. This degree of interference on the part of man with nature can hardly be designated art, any more than a cultivated field can be called an artificial object. In our opinion, it is rather selective and combining taste and good feeling that are employed in thus seconding nature, than that creative power which constitutes the artist, and which enables him to draw entirely from the stores of his own fancy, and embody at once his ideas. In gardening, we can do no more than sketch out the leading features of the design: the execution, both as regards the filling up and finishing the picture, must be left entirely to the operation of the earth, the seasons, and the elements. We may raise or level ground, divert water into other channels than those originally assigned to it, plant or cut down; yet, as these operations are only those of manual labour, taste and judgment are concerned only in conceiving the first rough draught of the work. Now this, it appears to us, does not require any very extraordinary power of mind: it amounts to little more than suggesting a subject to an artist, and explaining to him how you conceive it ought to be treated,—the grouping of the figures, the various emotions which their countenances ought to express; nor would it be at all difficult for any one to suggest what, if executed, would produce a first-rate work of art. But in art the happiest conceptions avail nothing, or will produce only palpable abortions, unless there be also the power of distinctly executing them; for it is execution which defines ideas and gives them positive existence. Many a one may perhaps be able loosely to figure to himself a combination of female charms, rivalling, if not eclipsing, the loveliness of the Medicean Venus, or countenances more expressive of refined devotional sentiment than the Madonnas of Raphael: is he therefore an artist?—we leave the reader to decide the question.

At any rate, then, landscape gardening is disengaged from one great test of strength in art, that of execution, which is necessarily consigned over to nature; hence it is so confined, that its office extends very little beyond that of critical skill in disposing the principal features and outline, preparing the canvass and subject, as it were, which nature must be left to fill up, and touch into the beauty of reality. This view of the matter, however, in no wise detracts from the talent requisite for such purpose, since, besides the painter's eye and sensibility, a master in landscape gardening must also possess a high degree of prescient vision, so as to be able to foresee results that will not develop and mani-

fest themselves until long afterwards. The landscape painter can try an effect and, if dissatisfied with it, efface it, and proceed afresh: not so the landscape gardener; his process is far more slow and uncertain; nor can he alter at pleasure, unless in parts of mere detail. The talent, then, of the latter consists in a fine taste for the beauties of natural scenery, in the power of combining them so as to set off every part of his design to the greatest advantage, and in that of foreseeing what will be the appearance of the whole when matured by time; all which, it must be admitted, certainly differs very much in kind, if not in degree, from the mental energy and manual skill required in the followers of the fine arts.

After all, settle it as we may, it is of very little real moment, whether we call ornamental and landscape gardening a fine art, or assign to it a place by itself. Perhaps we need not be very scrupulous as to so terming it, when we consider how the word *art* is bandied about in common parlance, and to what trivial and unworthy matters it is applied. Whether recognized as one of the fine arts or not, it is undoubtedly a noble and worthy pursuit, and one that cannot be too earnestly encouraged as a source of the purest and most elegant recreation,—one whose indulgence is equally beneficial to the mind and to the body. The enjoyment which it affords is at once sensual and intellectual; and, if less stimulating than many other sensual gratifications, it has this superiority over them, that it is the least palling of any, or rather one that is incapable of satiating. There is, moreover, this great advantage attending the pursuit, that it is one wherein decided failure is almost utterly impossible; for, although the most may not be made of a situation, or the combinations produced be even trivial and poor, there will still be the ineffable charm of the materials themselves, of verdure and vegetation in various hues and shapes; for even the smallest paddock, or shrubbery, which offer nothing answering the idea of landscape, being no more than "bits" of picture, delight the eye by nature's detail. Still, although this kind of effect cannot be missed, it is not sufficient. The landscape gardener aims at far more: his object is to fashion, as far as practicable, the materials at his command, so as to confer upon them an additional value, and display them in their fullest force, bestowing on them an expression and significancy, when put together, which they do not possess when taken separately and individually. To accomplish this, he must, while in some measure directing nature, submit to be guided by her in turn, and not attempt to give his scenery a character inconsistent with the ori-

ginal constitution of the site. The first and golden rule of his practice must be

"Consult the genius of the place in all;"*

for he is called upon not to put nature into a fantastic masquerade dress, but to attire her becomingly, and to select that garb which shall sit most gracefully upon her form.

It is not every situation in which much can be effected in the way of actual landscape; therefore, in a level confined spot of limited extent, as will often be the case with the grounds attached to a small villa, it would be better not to aim at it, especially should there happen to be no prospect beyond their boundary, but rather to have recourse exclusively to ornamental gardening, by which term we would, for distinction's sake, denominate that species which admits more of the obviously artificial character, and more of studied, elaborate culture, than the other. The grounds immediately surrounding a residence ought always to partake more or less of this style, to serve as a connecting link between the building and the landscape scenery, properly so termed. Here a high degree of artificial beauty may be tolerated, provided the *artificial* be not suffered to degenerate into the *unnatural;* that is, the artificial must not show itself so as to shock common sense. We are aware that flowers disposed in parterres or planted in marble vases, trellises covered with trailing plants, level terraces, and uniform slopes, are not the spontaneous work of nature, but produced by the skill and industry of man; yet so are the roads of a country, the hedges which enclose lands, and tilled fields themselves. The very idea of a garden is that of a carefully-cultivated spot; consequently the artificial character may be permitted to manifest itself decidedly in the ornamental species, care being taken that violence is not done to nature herself. Trees clipped into formal figures, and hedges cut to resemble walls, show the artificial carried to an absurd and perverse extreme, not only destroying the forms of the plants themselves, but without having any thing whatever to excuse it on the score of utility, convenience, or other advantage; whereas the

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* The same precept is thus expressed by Delille, who probably borrowed it from Pope:

"Avant tout, connoissez votre site; et du lieu
Adorez le génie, et consultez le dieu."

When he afterwards says,

"Je ne décide point entre Kent et Le Nôtre,"

the poet sacrifices sincerity to national vanity; for his doctrine evidently decides in favour of the former.

disposing of flowers in parterres, or leading creeping shrubs over trellises, exhibits them to advantage, and conformably with their natural properties. A trellis mantled over with the leaves and blossoms of various "climbers" is hardly a more artificial object than a wall clad with ivy, which has certainly never been deemed unpicturesque. Whatever be the degree of ornamental character bestowed upon a garden or pleasure-ground of this description, we must still avoid that strict architectural symmetry which, being here misplaced, tends not to give the charm of regularity that we properly look for in buildings, but merely to produce a monotonous formality. A parterre, for instance, should not exhibit in its plan an exact pattern, hardly regular figures of any kind; neither should there be corresponding features reflecting each other: thus, should there happen to be a terrace, a flight of steps, or any thing else of the sort, it ought not to have its counterpart, but to be considered a distinct and complete feature in itself, as much as what is less evidently the work of human industry. When we once begin to affect *parallelism* and repetition in such matters, we exceed the allowable degree of the artificial, and act nearly as preposterously as we should do were we to cut two rivers or lead two roads running parallel beside each other. It is not the artificial, properly applied, which is contrary either to sound taste or the picturesque; but that reduplication of it, which not only occasions unbecoming formality, but utterly destroys variety. In ornamental gardening there may be the most studied display, and the study itself may be apparent; yet, however elaborately adorned, the whole scene may wear such an air of ease and gracefulness as not only to be most captivating in itself, but also eminently picturesque, and to furnish a delightful subject for the pencil. In expressing what many will consider a very extraordinary opinion, we do not speak unadvisedly; for we cannot help thinking that those who have written on the subject of the picturesque have taken a very imperfect and partial view of it, accounting for only one particular species, and rejecting from their theories all that is not either exclusively the work of nature, or the result of accident. According to them, the artificial and the picturesque are almost incompatible with each other; yet, if by the latter we are to understand that quality in objects which recommends them to the painter's eye as subjects for his pencil, they surely err egregiously, since their doctrine goes to prove that many of those things are unpicturesque which we nevertheless find treated *con amore* in pictures. This mistake—at least oversight—appears to us to have arisen from too exclusive consideration of the *pure and unmixed picturesque*, without regard to other qualities with which it may be combined. Because native

landscape and wild scenery are picturesque, they have too hastily come to the conclusion that it must become the contrary in proportion as it aims at other beauties, and displays any effort or any effects of art. Perhaps we can best illustrate their doctrine and our own by instancing tolerably decisive cases that will serve to put both to the test. If they are correct, either a flower-piece is a very unfit subject for the pencil, or there must be a species of the picturesque reconcileable with a very strong degree of the artificial. Flowers of various sorts do not grow together in china jars or embossed vases, while both jars and vases are such evident productions of art, so utterly destitute of any of those qualities wherein the picturesque is asserted to consist, that they at any rate ought not to find their way into the picture; nevertheless they do, and withal add no little to its beauty;—and why? Because they are treated *picturesquely*. As to the flowers themselves also, it would not be difficult to show that, according to all definitions of the picturesque, they have as little pretension to it, more especially as their grouping is studied and artificial. Perhaps it will be said that in pictures of this class it is the skill and fidelity of the representation, more than any thing else, which occasion our admiration, and cause us to overlook the unfitness of the things themselves to be so shown; yet that would be not very far from saying that they are at once pleasing in representation, and unsuitable for it; utterly unfit for painting, yet capable of forming most delightful pictures. Let us turn to what is altogether artificial, and see whether that excludes the picturesque—we mean dress. Of this, neither the fashion nor the materials seem to possess any of those qualities demanded by the theorists, or rather are attended with the disadvantage of having almost diametrically opposite ones; nevertheless, few will deny, and common language itself admits, that dress may be strikingly picturesque; nay, when it is not so in reality, a skilful artist will be able to render it such by his management of it. The same holds good with regard to that species of gardening which is professedly the ornamental style, and admits of the highest degree of *recherché* embellishment, care being taken not to lose sight of artistical effect and sentiment; and as this style depends more upon details and the finish of minutiæ than that of "landscape" does, it is better adapted for a small than a large scale, and for the immediate environs of a residence.

For design, or the really artistical part of gardening, no positive rules of any kind can be laid down, either for the ornamental or the landscape style; there we must be governed by individual circumstances and situation. The only general rule which, as in all similar cases, is of least use to those who most need the assistance of any, is not to attempt more than the subject will bear,

and to dispose of every thing with a view to effect. Be the grounds ever so decorated and ornate, there should ever be—we will not say simplicity, for the popular signification of that term would not very well convey our meaning, perhaps seem altogether at variance with such degree of embellishment; we will therefore say breadth and repose—qualities exceedingly compatible with richness and gaiety of expression, with brilliancy and sparkling effects. Of course this is to be understood *cum grano salis;* for it is not to be supposed that in such cases repose can be made a predominant characteristic; no more of it, in fact, is desirable than will suffice to temper down and subdue glaringness, to bring the whole into harmonious keeping, and to prevent flutter and fritter. As in aiming at richness we must studiously avoid falling into glare and gaudiness, which are a debased and corrupt species of richness, so must we take heed that we do not mistake the merely fantastic for the fanciful. In the strictly ornamental style, the latter may legitimately be employed, on the condition annexed to every thing which partakes of art, namely, that the result be satisfactory, which it certainly will not prove, should the fanciful exhibit itself only in trivialities and trumpery. No where ought we to be more upon our guard against triviality than where we are obliged to work entirely in little, because we are there most likely of all to fall into it, if we have recourse to factitious embellishment. We do not say that artifices are altogether unallowable, that in garden ornaments only genuine materials are to be employed; pedestals, for instance, of wood, painted to resemble stone, may be tolerated, provided they are introduced in situations where they cannot be too closely approached; but, let the material be what it may, the form of all such objects ought to be most carefully studied, and calculated to please a critical eye. Unless that be done, they had much better be omitted altogether, because so far from being ornamental, they prove the reverse, are contemptible in themselves, and betray ignorance and vulgar taste. Happily, the wooden Gothic summer-houses, Chinese alcoves, and other Cockney conceits, together with "clumsy Cupids squirting in a pond," have been long ago exploded by the deserved ridicule they incurred; still it is a question whether we have done well in suffering them to prejudice us against every thing of the kind. By a judicious application of ornamental building and arrangement, much may be effected within a small compass, and a striking degree of scenic character obtained. Of what may be thus accomplished we have a tolerable example in the gardens and conservatories of the Colosseum, and we might perhaps refer to the conservatory at the Pantheon, in Oxford-street. It must be admitted that the former no less than the latter is en-

tirely an *in-door* garden; and likewise that there is somewhat more of the theatrical about it than would be desirable for any other place: at the same time, it shows what might be done within similarly contracted limits, and it likewise furnishes many hints and ideas that might be greatly improved upon. For our own part, we do not see wherefore a *boudoir garden*, if we may be allowed so to term this peculiar species, should not be perfectly reconcileable with good taste, since it certainly affords opportunities for introducing a variety of scenic and pictorial effects, although in proportion as it is capable of being treated in a masterly way, it is liable to be abused and rendered a mere assemblage of show-box puerilities.

Unlike the ornamental style, landscape gardening rejects, not only all artifice, but all indication of the artificial. It demands, not on that account less study; rather does it require more, and also the nicest delicacy of judgment and feeling, in order the better to conceal those very contrivances which bestow on the scene charms that nature had originally refused to it. It is not the factitious bloom upon the cheek of a beautiful woman, so much as the unskilfulness with which it is laid on, that offends the eye; the offence consists in the imposition being detected. The landscape gardener should bear this in mind; he must beware of painting too thick—of overdoing embellishment, till he pushes beauty to the verge of absurdity. Either he must make no attempt at concealing his machinery, or hide it most effectually, unless he is content to pass for a bungler.

We apprehend, however, that our readers will be better pleased to learn what Prince Pückler-Muskau says on the subject, than to have our opinions; and he does not speak from theory alone, having had the opportunity of enforcing precept by practice. The first requisite he demands in the embellishment of grounds is, that there should be unity of idea,—a *sine qua non* in every work of art. Such unity is not to be confounded with sameness; on the contrary, there must be both variety and contrast, yet of that species which nature exemplifies in her most propitious moods. Contrast must be so managed as to conduce to the harmony of the whole; there must be nothing forced or extravagant in it; and even the transitions from one scene to another, however sudden, should have nothing jarring, or that will disagreeably interrupt our preceding impressions.

"It is not indispensably necessary," observes the Prince, "that in order to produce a powerful effect, a park should be of considerable size. Owing to the unskilfulness with which it is treated, a very extensive space of land is frequently so cut up into patches as to be greatly reduced; while, by a contrary system, a limited one may be made to appear

larger than it really is. In my opinion, therefore, Michael Angelo was altogether mistaken when he said of the Pantheon:—'It is a wonder upon earth, but I will elevate it in the air,' hoping thereby to obtain still greater effect. By giving the dome of St. Peter's the same dimensions, he realized his boast; yet how unfavourable is the result! Erected upon an enormous mass of building, the dome looks comparatively diminutive and unimportant; while the Pantheon, placed in a suitable point of view, has for centuries been an object sublime as the vault of heaven. Were they put upon the summit of Mont Blanc, the pyramids would appear no larger than sentry-boxes; and Mont Blanc itself, viewed from a remote distance, appears of no greater size than a heap of snow. Great and small, therefore, are only relative terms. It is not according to what it actually is, but according to what it shows itself to the eye, that we form our estimate of any object; and it is precisely here that a wide field opens itself to the landscape gardener. The tree, for example, which, although a hundred feet high, does not shut out the horizon, when situated in the middle ground of the prospect, would, were it only ten feet in height, do that, if no more than a few paces from us. Consequently, by a skilful management of the foreground, we may most easily, and most speedily, produce important effects, and give a striking physiognomy to the landscape."

But what, the reader will ask, is to be understood by 'foreground?' A real landscape is not like a picture, where the eye is confined to a single point of view; for what is foreground in one situation becomes middle ground, or distance, when beheld from another. Very true: the same foreground cannot possibly remain; yet, although we cannot retain the *same*, there should always be *a foreground*, that is, along the whole of the direct course through which the spectator passes. It is with reference to such course that the landscape gardener must work; this he must consider *a series of stations* from which so many pictures are to be viewed; casual ones there may be, to be obtained by desultory and random rambling in any direction,—and, indeed, in beautiful scenery they can hardly fail to occur; but, as concerns the actual laying out of the grounds, it is only certain definite points that can be subjects of study, and other results and combinations must be left more or less to accident.

In the foreground itself, as well as elsewhere, there must be variety; otherwise, whatever merit it may possess in itself, it would appear too *mannered*. Diversity of shape, of colour, of light and shade, must all be secured; and every advantage must be taken of inequalities of surface in the ground: gentle undulations and swells, abrupt breaks and hollows, may all be turned to account for this purpose. The larger features of landscape are not equally under our controul: should nature have been niggardly to the site in this respect, we can do little towards counteracting her

parsimony, save in the way of planting, imparting to the scene variety of verdure, and the richness of sylvan luxuriance. From the tangled thicket to the light open grove, between the interstices of whose foliage the sunbeams dart and flicker upon the rich grassy sward—from the plant and shrub, to the majestically spreading tree—all these may be formed; though, in regard to objects of the last-mentioned class, it must be confessed that they require more than the growth of a few summers for their development, nor, unless previously existing on the spot, can they very conspicuously adorn an entirely newly-formed place. On that very account are they all the more to be prized and cherished when we actually possess them, as ornaments of the scene not to be replaced by ourselves or our immediate successors when once destroyed. Independently of their nobleness as objects of sight, the aspect of venerable trees and woods exerts a powerful influence over the mind; there is a charm even in the very monotony of a dense and uninterrupted screen of wood, and, when viewed from an eminence, such an expanse of foliage and verdure partakes, likes the ocean, of the sublime.

So greatly does water heighten the beauties of landscape, and contribute, by the manifold ways in which it displays itself, towards variety, that this alone will give to the scenery a spirit which it must otherwise lack; still if nature has denied a supply of it, we must either content ourselves with effects independent of it, or have recourse to the artificial introduction of it. But in such case, observes the Prince,

"I would rather advise that no attempt be made at imperfect imitation. Without having water, a landscape may be highly pleasing, while a stinking mass of water is in itself pestilential. The former is merely a negative defect, the other a positive and serious evil; nor will any person, but he who has paid for it, imagine that a stagnant pool can be mistaken for a natural lake."

We must own, however, that in our opinion there are many situations in which even standing water contributes to the picturesque, —such as a pond for cattle; at the same time it should be observed, that a small pool of that kind is altogether different from one which is rendered a conspicuous object and affects to be an important feature. But let us proceed with the author's remarks on the subject of water.

"A number of smaller and larger projections of land running into the water give an air of naturalness to its banks, as do likewise deep insertions extending into them, and diversity as to the height and shape of the banks themselves. Care must be taken that the margin be not so

trim as to betray the operation of manual labour; unless it be in the pleasure-ground; and even there it is more advisable to observe a medium between unassisted nature and cultivation. Should a large lake-like sheet of water be required, which is certainly very desirable in the prospect from the windows of the mansion, it ought, partly by means of islets, and partly by indenting creeks, the extremities of which should be concealed by plantation, be so disposed that the whole surface of water can never be taken in at a single view, but the water appear to extend itself beyond the screens so formed: otherwise, almost any piece of water will appear inconsiderable, although it may be two or three miles in circumference. Open spots along the banks, lofty trees planted singly, wood, and thicket, must all be employed, in order to diversify the effect as much as possible; and in the broadest part the light must be fully admitted, that the transparency and brilliancy of the water may not be at all diminished by its exclusion. Should there happen to be any considerable object just by the water—a building, hill, or particularly remarkable tree—there must be nothing between that and the bank which would prevent its reflection; and, either by means of a path, or a bench placed for such purpose, the attention of the visitor must be drawn to the spot that will afford the most favourable view of the picture so produced."

Judicious as these instructions are in themselves, they seem calculated to lead to mannerism, at least they do not provide for many accidental circumstances which might be made to contribute to novelty of character. Neither do we exactly agree with the author in what he says as to guarding against predominancy of shadow. The silvery brilliancy of water is undoubtedly one of its chief recommendations, both on its own account, and for the heightening contrast which it affords to the rest; but, if there be less of sparkle and animation, there is certainly not less of picturesque and poetic charm in a scene, where a stream, or lake, is embosomed among overhanging banks and shaggy trees, that cast, if not absolutely a gloom, a dense mass of shadow, over its surface.

Buildings, of course, come in for some share of the Prince's didactic hints and cautions; and here he justly deprecates that false taste which has frequently led to absurd parade, filling many gardens with structures at once contemptible and expensive, crowding what they should adorn, and, although collectively betraying much ambitious aim, individually insignificant. He is for proscribing all buildings that have no ostensible purpose, and insists that those which are erected shall have an external character in accordance with their destination. This is undoubtedly very sound advice in the main, yet it admits of some exceptions: neither good taste nor good sense imperatively requires that a build-

ing erected for embellishment should have any particular use appropriated to it. The absurdity would not be in the thing itself, but in cavilling at that particular species of embellishment, where the object of all the rest is solely the gratification of the eye and mind, because, as for the matter of exercise, a person might obtain that by rambling among the fields. It is quite sufficient that a building be an attractive object, one in accordance with the scene where it is introduced, and not only of value in the general view, but of positive merit as a piece of architecture, especially as it is intended to be frequently and leisurely viewed. Should a structure be introduced merely as a distant object to mark an eminence, or to break the line of the horizon, and so placed that near access to it cannot be obtained, then indeed positive architectural beauty, beyond that of pleasing outline and proportions, may be dispensed with; but in every other case it becomes essential. Should it, therefore, not be considered worth while to erect such a building as shall be a beautiful and finished work of art in itself, it cannot be worth while to erect any at all. How infinitely better would it be in every respect, if, instead of squandering money in putting up a number of petty and paltry buildings, by courtesy nicknamed temples, the proprietor of a place were to apply the sum bestowed upon such insignificancies to the erection of a single edifice of superior design. "How happens it," asks a recent tourist, "that none of our moneyed and travelled connoisseurs have ever erected as an ornamental building in their pleasure grounds, if not a precise model of the whole of a Pompeian house, something that should combine all the more striking and characteristic features of one?"* The idea appears to us a good one, at least as far as interior decoration is concerned; and such a *restoration*, properly executed, would, perhaps, be far more satisfactory and instructive than the shattered and dismantled houses of Pompeii itself.

In all buildings of any pretension whatever, and more than a mere rustic construction, the trivial should solicitously be guarded against. Nothing can be more ridiculously offensive than diminutive, toyish imitations of castles and abbeys; neither are sham ruins particularly to be recommended, although we do not entertain that decided hostility towards them which our princely author does. Whenever any thing of the sort is attempted, it would be more advisable to show little more than a single feature in tolerable preservation, and of really beautiful design in itself, than an unintelligible heap of fragments, without any architectural cha-

* Wilson's Records of a Route, &c. 1835.

racter or effect to compensate for the interest they might possess if really belonging to some former edifice. A Gothic porch converted into a garden-seat, or a window of rich workmanship, partly mantled over with ivy, might possess the merit of being a tasteful as well as picturesque object. The site of a building ought also to be so selected as to set it off to the utmost advantage, so as to render it not only a useful accessory in the general prospect, but an effective and satisfactory feature where it necessarily becomes the principal one in the scene: in painters' phraseology, every thing of the kind ought to be made to *tell*.

As a precept to be generally followed, we are ready to admit that a building intended for some actual purpose should present an external character in accordance with it; at the same time we are of opinion that a little licence in this respect should be allowed. Occasionally a building may be so masked that its interior shall present the very reverse of what its exterior promises, without at all violating good taste. In such cases, however, the surprise should not be that of disappointment, but of unexpected delight. When, on entering what its external aspect denotes to be a temple, we discover that it is only a cow-house, dairy, or room for keeping garden-tools, we should have some reason to be out of humour with the deception; whereas, were we to pass through a vestibule externally fashioned to look like the cell of some recluse, or rustic dwelling, or grotto, and suddenly find ourselves within an elegant, boudoir-like, and fairy apartment, whose windows afforded a prospect till then concealed from sight, we might easily forgive the fraud practised upon us. Such a place would have something beyond the merit of exciting a first surprise by mere trickery; and deceptions of this kind admit of being shaped in an infinite variety of ways. We do not pretend to say that the result would uniformly be a happy one; frequently it might prove very childish and absurd. One piece of advice may in every case be safely followed, which is, that nothing should be too precipitately commenced, but be maturely studied and reconsidered, and the intended effects accurately represented in drawings, before actual operations are set on foot.

We pass over the technical portion of the Prince's work, and indeed have omitted to touch upon many topics in it which afford matter for discussion of a more general nature; but we have already devoted as much space to the subject as we can venture to do, and must now dismiss it, strongly recommending the work itself to all who take any interest in the matters of which it treats; that is, should they be acquainted with the language in which it is written, for we very much question whether it will ever appear in

an English dress, it being by no means of the class of works that a translator is likely to select for his purpose, or for which he would find a market among English publishers. In addition to the information and instruction it contains for the landscape gardener, we should add that it also furnishes many observations and hints which the painter, and indeed artists generally, might turn to account; and we trust that our lively and intelligent *Verstorbene* will, before he really deserves that appellation, live to compose many pieces of elegant didactic criticism worthy of the pen which has given us these *Andeutungen*.

ART. VII.—*Italien wie es ist. Bericht über eine merkwürdige Reise in den Hesperischen Gefilden, als Warnungsstimme für alle welche sich dahin sehnen.* Von Gustav Nicolai. (Italy as it is. Narrative of a remarkable Tour in Hesperia, as a Warning to all who wish themselves there.) 2 vols. 12mo. Leipzig, 1834.

IT is the lot of reviewers, being indeed their imperative duty, to pore over many a queer volume, to wade through much that they would gladly cast aside;—at one time for the benevolent purpose of seeing whether a dull book may not afford some redeeming pages, some valuable information—at another in order to save the fairer portion of the reading public from being betrayed, by a seemingly innoxious title, into the perusal of that which may prove offensive to female delicacy. This last is an irksome, though surely a most important duty; but we are well aware that we have no great right to complain of its disagreeableness, inasmuch as none of our now numerous band were either pressed or kidnapped into the service, but all voluntarily made choice of reviewing as our profession. We mention the circumstance only to claim the gratitude of our respected countrywomen at this moment, when we are called upon to discharge this duty to them.

It has of late struck us as somewhat remarkable, that we have occasionally met with German travels unfit for general perusal. An English traveller may now and then communicate to his readers rather more concerning his own bodily health or discomfort than they exactly wish to know; but he will scarcely run the hazard of seriously disordering their stomachs by his de-

tails, and still less, unless he avowedly write for medical students alone, will he relate what not only cannot be read aloud in a family circle, but must oblige the father of a family carefully to put the book out of his children's way. Now we have recently met with more than one German traveller who seems to be utterly unsuspicious of the possibility of making people sick by words, and to think that whatever he has seen, that he must perforce tell, how disgusting soever the sight,—nay, though it were such as is vigilantly withheld from the eyes of women. Some of these travellers we have not deemed it necessary to introduce to our readers' acquaintance; but the volumes now before us, although belonging to the same class, we think sufficiently original to merit an exception.

They are entitled, "Italy as it is." And how is that, think you, courteous reader? Italy as it is, in the eyes of Gustav Nicolai, his wife, his brother, and his friend—the members of his travelling party—is totally unlike what it has hitherto been in the eyes of the great body of travellers of his own, as well as of all other nations. We do not assuredly mean to ascribe to this company of Prussians the discovery that Italy is, or rather that Italians are, superlatively dirty and tolerably extortionate: that we apprehend all who have visited the Hesperian peninsula know to their cost. The Prussian, or rather the Nicolai discovery is, that Italy possesses nothing, in climate, in scenery, in classical remains, and little in works of art, to repay the traveller for his sufferings in nose, skin, and purse. But we must enter somewhat into detail, carefully avoiding, of course, to translate what we would gladly have avoided reading.

On May-day of the year 1833, Gustav Nicolai and Co. set forth from Berlin, impatiently eager to revel in the anticipated beauties and pleasures of Italy. They journeyed by way of Vienna, through the southern provinces of the empire of Austria; and as far as Trieste their enthusiastic expectation of enjoyment seems to have grown by what it fed on. As this portion of their route led through a country less familiarly known to the general reader than Italy, we shall select an extract or two from this more pleasing part of the book.

"In many respects Illyria really prepares us for Italy. Hardly any other land is composed of such heterogeneous parts as Illyria." [We do not quite understand whether this be part of its resemblance to Italy.] "Even in olden times the inhabitants were of mixed origin, consisting of Thracians, Phœnicians, Celts, and Sicilians. Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, and Tiberius, subjected the land to the Roman sceptre; and all the Roman provinces that lay eastward, were comprehended under

the name of *Illyricum Magnum.** . . . The provinces had long been dissevered, and the name of Illyricum was nearly forgotten, when Napoleon, after the peace of Campo Formio, united the circles of Villach and Carniola, Austrian Istria, Fiume, Trieste, the Litorale, Dalmatia, and the islands thereunto belonging, into one government, to which he gave the name of the Illyrian provinces. Illyria now forms a separate kingdom, subject to the Austrian sceptre, but comprehends only the governments of Laybach and Trieste, (the western portion); Dalmatia, Croatia, and Sclavonia, constituting separate (equally subject) kingdoms. It may be imagined that the confusion of tongues is heard in Illyria. To-day our postilions no more understood us than we them. One of them, who could just make himself intelligible in German, we questioned as to his mother tongue, which he said was 'the *Raitzian*.' This seemed to me a mixture of bad Italian with some Sclavonic dialect."

At Adelsberg the party visited "the celebrated Magdalen grotto," said to be the largest stalactitic cavern in the world. This grotto is annually illuminated on a day called the "grotto festival." Twenty-four hours' stay would have enabled our travellers to witness this illumination, but they preferred visiting the grotto the preceding midnight, in the ordinary way, and, as we find nothing very remarkable in the account of it, we shall hurry on with them to Trieste.

"Where shall I find words to paint the infinite beauty I have this day seen? We are at Trieste. Maps may tell us that we are still in Germany; town, country, men and language, all convince us that we have reached the divine Hesperian fields!

* * * * *

"It is incredible how suddenly the character of the country alters near Sessana. You find yourself indisputably transplanted into Italy. The villages consist of stone houses, with low angular roofs, narrow stone staircases, on the outside, leading to the first floor; but the country is still waste; the heights around are stony and barren; only here and there do we see a vine. Gradually appears the undulating, reddish grey elevated plain, across which our way leads, and which bears neither tree nor grass, but is strewn over with white blocks of chalk and alabaster, everywhere seen standing up many feet above the surface. * *

"At length we reached the summit of the *Karst* hill, 1486 feet high, French measure, below which lies Trieste. And here, as by the touch of a fairy wand, opens upon the traveller, who the moment before saw nothing but barren heights, an immeasurable world of beauty, such as the most glowing imagination is unable to conceive.

"Before us lay the deep blue Adriatic Sea, lighted up by the setting sun, and covered with white sails; beneath our feet, looking small from

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* He cannot surely mean to include Greece, Macedonia, and the Asiatic provinces of Rome, in *Illyricum Magnum*?

the distance, Trieste, with its white stone houses, its castle and harbour, its pier and light-house; to the left, along the coast of Istria, reddened by the evening sun, rose, in picturesque waving lines, like a hardened sea of lava, the naked mountains upon which we were; to the right, a lower range of hills declined to the flat coast of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Close to the road we beheld an *osteria* (inn), with an Italian vine-covered gallery, under which sat happy people enjoying the charms of nature. The slope of the hills that inclose the little narrow valley, in which, upon the sea-shore, stands Trieste, was adorned with numberless country-houses amongst vineyards, whilst over the whole landscape were spread the azure vault of a clear cloudless sky, and the witchery of the lights of eve. We gazed with tears of rapture upon this unspeakably beautiful picture. If Italy begins thus, what must be her internal charms. * * * *

"One thing is, alas! wanting in the splendid landscape—the verdure of luxuriant vegetation; for green meadows and leafy shady trees were not to be seen. * * * *

"Trieste is built in the Italian style, and beautifully; its pavement excellent. Before the lower story of almost all the houses, blue and white striped cloths are supported upon gaily-coloured poles, so that one walks in shade before the well-furnished shops. Wherever one looks appears the active traffic of a busy sea-port town, remarkably populous in proportion to its size. Amidst the throng of Europeans, oriental garbs are here and there discerned. * * * *

"The corpse of a child, about nine years' old, has just been carried past our windows, in an open coffin, decorated with flowers. First went ecclesiastics in full canonicals, preceded by a crucifix, then the gaudy coffin, resting on the shoulders of the bearers; the mourners, consisting of women and children, followed. Yes, we are in Italy.

* * * * *

"The lemonade-sellers are characteristic, running about with a large bottle and a glass in their hands, or pushing on before them a barrow with a cask, vehemently recommending their wretched liquid to the populace as a valuable refreshment, and for a *kreutzer* (something less than a halfpenny) pouring a whole quart of their beverage down the gasping throat of a steaming porter. What now?—The people throng together; every salesman leaves his wares; a confused cry rises to our windows; a detachment of soldiers bring in a criminal in chains; they halt before a house opposite to us; an officer of justice, clothed in black, appears in the balcony of the house; instantly the crowd is hushed; a death-like silence reigns; the official opens a paper and reads the sentence. The prisoner has murdered his mistress through jealousy; his doom is imprisonment for life. He is pale; his black shaggy hair hangs over his face; he listens with seeming indifference to the decision of his fate, and returns very quietly to his prison. The judge retires; a subdued murmur is heard from the crowd; each returns to his business; and again rings the ear-piercing cry of the costermonger.—All is forgotten!"

In this happy, admiring, and joy-anticipating frame of mind,

our travellers entered Italy by its north-eastern extremity; and forthwith, the very first day that they stood upon the longed-for Hesperian fields, we find them beginning to grumble.

"We drove close along the shallow sea-shore; it was marshy, overgrown with reeds, and cut up by numerous canals. Gradually the sea disappeared, and we found ourselves in the flat country. Here, we every where saw black, knotty, leafless, and seemingly withered trees, by the road side, which made an unpleasing impression upon us. We learned that these were mulberry trees, stripped of their leaves many times in the year, to feed silk-worms. Some fig-trees and vines were discernible. It was impossible to yield one's-self up fully to enjoyment, for the impudent importunity and screaming of the beggars, who every where assailed us, was unendurable. Moreover, we found the villages that we passed through, smoky and filthy. We crossed the Isonzo in the evening, and reached Palmanova, the first town of the province of Friuli, in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, where our passports were demanded. Every time this happens, we must open our purses. We alighted at the inn, called the best, but find it very indifferent. This afternoon has disappointed our expectations. We are somewhat out of humour; if Italy continues such as we have seen it to-day,—why then, it is not pretty. * * * *

"Here we were to leave our carriage, and embark in a post packet-boat, in order to cross the *Laguna* to Venice. A horrid-looking rabble watched the unloading of our baggage. Scarcely had I begun, when twenty hands were put forth. I might repel them or not; with animal-like wildness the things were snatched from me; every one was resolved to earn, to force the stranger to open his purse. We were disgusted at this persecuting effrontery. The most positive command to let the carriage alone was unheeded. Two porters had immediately appeared with trucks to convey our baggage. The canal upon which we were to embark is about ten minutes' walk distant from the inn, and one truck would have sufficed; but, without referring to us, our things were placed upon two trucks, to make us pay double; besides which two or three other chaps whipped up a package or two apiece, and ran off with them to the vessel. Nor let it be supposed possible to hinder such proceedings. The idle mob of lookers-on, who stare at a foreigner with savage insolence, and openly laugh at him if he lays himself open to their taunts, would instantly take part against him, should he resist the arbitrary will of any one of their number. On our way from the inn to the vessel we were attacked by a swarm of shameless, screaming, loathsome beggars. On board, we were awaited by four post-sailors, although two or three could have managed the boat. A fifth fellow, in the post livery, had the impudence to demand his *buona man'*, (*anglicè*, something to drink,) as post-hostler, although, proceeding by water, we had no need of horses or hostler; a sixth wished us *buon viaggio* (a good journey), and demanded his *buona man'* for that. We gave something to drink to fifteen persons before the vessel would put off."

From this time forward, we hear of little else but filth, ver-

min, beggars, extortion, and ill-cooked, uneatable meals—in truth we suspect this last to have been the heaviest grievance, Germans being accused of caring, somewhat unintellectually, for the refection of the body,—and little indeed for compensatory beauties. At Venice, our traveller finds all in the wrong. The palaces are in ruins, the smaller canals smell offensively, the women are ugly, and wear no national costume; the opera orchestra plays out of time and tune, and the singers are destestable. The gondoliers have left off singing Tasso, and sing vilely what they do sing. Indeed, music there is none in Italy,—except, perhaps, at the Florentine and Neapolitan opera theatres. Similar complaints, *mutatis mutandis*, are incessantly repeated as the travellers proceed; and it is self-evident that such a journal affords much that cannot be extracted, and little of what it would be desirable to extract. The extortion our travellers seem to have made super-extortionate by a happy combination of timid submission with occasional impotent attempts at resistance. Of the last we select one instance, characteristic of both parties—the cheater and the cheated.

"At Aquapendente we alighted at the *Aquila Nera* (Black Eagle), where the landlord immediately demanded our passports, that they might be *visé* by the police, for the third time to-day; they were afterwards returned with a charge of two *paoli*, (about a shilling,) for each passport, and a *buona man'* for the person who took them. In the course of this day we have thus paid five Prussian dollars for our passports.

"We were persecuted to order supper, although we had already positively said that we desired only four plates of soup, and roast meat for two. They would fain have kept us up waiting till midnight, then to set before us the regular Italian repast of thirteen dishes. We repeated that we would have only roast meat for two, and soup for four; whereupon the waiter, a tall disagreeable looking fellow, cast upon us a glance of taunting contempt. * * * * * He laid the cloth, and set two clumsy bottles of wine upon the table. This mode of forcing travellers to spend their money, revolted us. We told him we had not ordered wine, and gave him back the second bottle, as at any rate one was enough for us. He immediately replaced it on the table, and answered, sneeringly, 'It's all one; you may drink it, or not.'"

A quarrel with the postilions who had brought them to Aquapendente, further stirred our traveller's bile; and he thus laments its effect.

"I could not eat two spoonfuls of soup, for I was choking with anger. * * * Opposite to our windows I hear voluntaries played on a bad pianoforte. I mention it, because this is the first pianoforte that I have heard in Italy. I am told that it is a lady that plays. Oh! unknown Italian fair, how does your disharmony move my heart!"

The beds proved harder, the vermin more numerous and hungry, here than usual, and the lady played on, nearly all night. Indeed, the Italian practice of turning night into day is one of our traveller's constant subjects of complaint.

"There was no closing our eyes; therefore, at six o'clock we rose, and I called in all haste for breakfast and post-horses, to revive ourselves in the coolness of morning. An hour we waited for our coffee. Some lumps of baked leaven supplied the place of loaves and rolls. Luckily, as at Florence and Sienna, soft boiled eggs were given us with our coffee, a custom introduced into Italy by English travellers.

"We called for our account, but could not trust our eyes when we saw nine *scudi** (nearly thirteen Prussian dollars) charged for four beds, four plates of soup, two plates of tough, newly-killed hen, one plate of spoiled cherries, coffee and bread for four, with eight eggs. The wine we had scarcely touched; and moreover it cost about as much as beer in Germany. We paid; for where should we seek redress."

We apprehend that they would have been charged no more had they allowed the customary supper to have been served, and not wrangled about a second bottle of cheap wine. But this is only the opening of the extortion drama.

"One of us, who acted as paymaster, gave the waiter four golden Napoleons, bidding him bring the change, and a dozen of oranges to quench our thirst upon the road. * * * He brought the oranges, and paid the exact silver change into our cashier's hands. Our companion bade the man take the money for the oranges, which he did; when we, exasperated at our ill-treatment, and therefore determined to give the waiter no *buona man'*, bade the postilions drive on. Suddenly, the waiter exclaimed, 'The oranges are not paid for!' We remonstrated, that he had just taken the money; he denied it; and to avoid delay, we paid a second time; again, and now angrily, bidding the postilions drive on. When the waiter saw the carriage in motion, without his having received a *buona man*,' he exclaimed, trembling with rage, '*e niente per il cameriere*,' (and nothing for the waiter)? We flung him a couple of *paoli*. The paltriness of the sum increased the Italian's fury." [We suspect that English, French, and even German waiters, would have been angry in such circumstances.] "The carriage moved on; one moment he stood speechless; he saw that in another we should be beyond his reach—like lightning he devised the means of revenging himself and plundering us. 'Stop! stop!' shouted he; and the mob, who had witnessed the whole discussion, began to run with him. 'Stop! You have got a Napoleon too much!'—'A Napoleon too much!' roared out the mob. 'Stop the carriage!!' Our postilions stopped, for the whole nation is silently in a league against foreigners. With fiery eyes, his voice half-choked with rage, the waiter demanded his Napoleon.

* Crown pieces.

Around us crowded *sans-culotte* vagabonds, with savagely threatening gestures! We were impatient to reach Rome; objections seemed fruitless; and a golden Napoleon slid into the pocket of the cheat. Off we now dashed at full speed, whilst triumphant roars of laughter rang behind us."

Of such subjects enough! And why should we extract eternally repeated complaints of disappointment at Rome, Naples, Pompeii, Vesuvius, in short every where,—except, perhaps, at Tivoli, at the illumination of St. Peter's, and at Genoa? We love not delineations sketched with an unfriendly hand, especially of what has been already abundantly portrayed, and we see little use in refuting calumnies which, after all, are very much questions of taste. If M. Nicolai really thinks the Brandenburgh sands more beautiful and romantic than the Appennine scenery, and prefers its pine forests to the vine-clad trees of Italy, what can we answer but that we differ from him? We prefer taking a scene at a Capuan *trattoria*, (shall we translate it *restaurateur*, or eating-house?) where our travellers dined, in the seemingly vain hope of there getting a better, which, perhaps, only means a more German meal, than at the inn. The scene is nationally characteristic, and well given. Sparing our readers the disgusting beginning, that is to say, the circumstantial description of the kitchen, of the family dormitory,—which in fact formed part of the dining room,—and of the viands, we proceed at once to the less sickening, although equally appropriate, accessories.

"Whilst we dined, or rather whilst we struggled against the nausea provoked by the sight and smell of our food, an old blind musician sang to his guitar. His song, the twanging of his instrument, and the clamorous conversation of the Italian company at the other table, (so placed as to obstruct the balcony), where a staff-officer especially bellowed like a public crier, enhanced the tortures of this dinner. * * * As our carriage necessarily remained in the street, we had, before entering the *trattoria*, committed it to the care of a man with a decently honest countenance. The Italian dinner-party now took leave, and we entered the balcony. Our ragged watchman seemed to feel himself honoured by our confidence. Shouldering an enormous cudgel, he stalked backwards and forwards before our carriage, dealing hearty blows, to the right and left, amongst the congregated idlers, especially the vagabond boys who presumed to touch the wheels or the pole. In Italy, the only way to secure one's property is expressly to entrust it to an Italian. * * * One is then cheated and robbed, but not pilfered.

"As we looked laughing from the balcony, a crowd of beggars assembled. * * * * We flung small coins amongst them. What raptures! A single *grano** set fifty human beings in motion. They

* The smallest of Italian coins.

fell upon each other like maniacs, and continued fighting, when the lucky finder, observed only by us, had long since made off with his prize. The screams, the roar of exultation, joy, and envy, rang far away through the streets. * * * Like wildfire the tidings ran through the city, that Prussian princes had arrived, who were flinging money to the people. We saw men and women rushing to the spot, in order to profit by the fortunate event. Again we flung small coins, when a boy was thrown down, and perhaps a little trampled upon, for he yelled piteously. No sooner, however, did he perceive that we had noticed his accident with regret, than he stood in our room demanding compensation for his hurts. We gave him a trifle, and he ran off, not merely healed, but shouting with delight. * * * Over against us was a green-grocer's stall, which had more than once been in danger of demolition. Suddenly a man trod upon a basket of potatoes. Instantly the green-grocer was in our room, the basket on his arm, showing us with vehement gesticulation, two or three crushed potatoes, and dilating upon the enormous loss he had sustained. A *carolin* (another small coin) superabundantly compensated him. * * * Meanwhile the landlady, a young respectable-looking woman, had come into the room with her child. We noticed the child, and entered into conversation with her; when she, too, asked of us a pecuniary gift. We complied, and then paid four piastres (about a sovereign) for our uneaten dinner."

As we have said, at Pompeii, as elsewhere, our Prussian is disappointed; nevertheless, we think his description of the general effect of this resuscitating town effective, and insert it.

"He who has not visited Herculaneum and Pompeii can hardly form an idea of their appearance. One fancies them subterranean, like the amphitheatre at Herculaneum, but this is incorrect. Pompeii offers no image of a buried town. Houses and streets lie free and open as in other towns; because the earth, ashes, lava, rubbish, and stones that covered the whole, have been carefully removed to a distance. Pompeii looks as though, recently deserted by its inhabitants, it had been plundered and destroyed by barbarian hordes. The absence of all roofs, and the sun's consequently shining down between the yawning walls, gives this feeling of complete destruction. The stillness of death prevails. Beyond the cleared portion of the town, low lava hills, now covered with vegetation, lean against the walls of the still buried houses; whence the town seems to lie in a narrow valley."

The intrinsic interest inherent in these long-buried towns, these petrifactions of ancient life, preserved, it might seem, for the express purpose of gratifying modern curiosity, is so great, that it can scarcely have been enhanced even by the graphic and dramatic powers displayed by Mr. Bulwer in his Last Days of Pompeii; although it is true that some of Nicolai's minor, single, and circumstantial details acquire additional temporary

importance, from their exemplifying the skill with which the novelist has so constructed his story as to agree with and account for the positions in which several skeletons were found; as, for instance, that of a priest in the temple of Isis. But all this is now far from new. The peculiar character of Pompeii, the narrow streets, worn pavement, small rooms, shop signs, even the continued actual, though not useable, existence of eatables and drinkables, have all been recorded by Italian tourists innumerable, who, unlike their Prussian successor, gazed with an eye of love upon what they saw, and whose accounts are therefore more agreeable reading. One or two of our traveller's remarks may, however, be worth noting.

"With the exception of one shop in the *Via Consularis*, of the temple of Isis, and of the public bakehouse, we found no trace of a chimney. * * * Even in the poorest dwellings we found Mosaic pavements, though there of the simplest patterns. * * * It is a pity that the best paintings have all been removed (to the Museum); in consequence, Pompeii itself impresses us very differently from its representation, which deceives us by the rich colours of the paintings on the walls. A deception the greater, inasmuch as the colours in the representations are brilliant, whilst the wall-pictures, well as they are preserved, still betray their antiquity."

After having seen Pompeii, our travellers visited the Museum, in which all the moveables there found are stored up. But these strangely preserved memorials of the manners and customs of men who died nearly 1800 years ago, including the unknown models of some of the latest modern culinary and surgical inventions, have likewise been repeatedly described, all but the contents of one room, in which the proofs of the grossness of Roman vice and obscenity are concealed from modest eyes, and with which M. Gustav Nicolai has thought fit to sully his pages and disgust his readers.

The ascent of Vesuvius is well told; but who, now-a-days, has not looked into the crater of Vesuvius, when, as then, in a quiescent state? Wherefore, especially as in a very late number we gave the more arduous and less common ascent of Etna, we pass Vesuvius by, and prefer extracting a specimen of the pantomimic powers of the Neapolitan beggar-boys.

"A strange music, that resounded from the Chiaia, drew us to the balcony. Eight lads, from fourteen to sixteen years' old, of the dregs of the people, came dancing forward, dressed in shirts, jackets, short breeches, and caps, in which were stuck cocks' feathers. Upon seeing us they halted; when four of them danced a genuinely national and characteristic dance, to the music of the others. The instruments of

the four musicians consisted of a reed-pipe, castanets, two long pieces of wood clapped together, and an indescribable sort of little drum, which the player held under his arm, and from which he produced a sound resembling that of a tambourine rubbed with a moist thumb. They played the air of the *Tarantella.* The dancers executed in the first place a warlike dance, with very rapid movements, in their springs flinging their naked legs out behind them, in perfect time, and raising and dropping their bent arms. Then they passed into pantomime. It seemed that one of them was to personate a wounded man. His gestures were most expressive; every feature spoke pain and grief. At last he sank to the ground, as though dying, and remained for some seconds motionless. The music was now slower and softer. Whilst he lay on the ground, the other dancers expressed, in vehement gestures, their sorrow for the loss of their comrade. Suddenly the supposed corse sprung up, the quick warlike dance began anew, and the music rang merrily as at first. Herewith the representation ended. The eight caps were now humbly held up towards our balcony, whence *carlini* rained into them.

" We asked our *Cicerone* whether this were the true *Tarantella.* He said it was not, and undertook to procure for us a sight of this national dance on the following afternoon. So our Venetian *Cicerone* hired gondoliers to sing to us! Italian tourists pretend to have seen national peculiarities and customs amongst the common people in every corner of Italy. Funerals, the *Amorra* game, and this boys' dance, are the only things of the kind that we have seen, without first bespeaking and paying for the exhibition."

The game of *Amorra,* commonly written *Morra, i. e.* guessing at the number of fingers suddenly thrown out by the players, is too well known to extract Nicolai's account of it; but one thing that he states, being new to us, seems worth mentioning. It is, that the game is forbidden to be played within doors, lest privacy, combining with the vehemence of the excited players, should lead to murder. Of the true *Tarantella* dance, as presented by a fisherman and his sister, a washerwoman, and the *Cicerone* himself, it is enough to say, that it proved but a dull affair, far inferior to the street ballet.

Our travellers had now had enough of Naples, and we ourselves are well disposed to close the book; but, in doing so, we will add one more extract, since the reasons that induced the party to shorten their proposed tour, will make an appropriate conclusion, and are highly characteristic of these tourists' views and feelings with respect to the splendid ruins of classical Italy; which ruins Nicolai, by the by, somewhat unaccountably seems occasionally to suspect of being modern structures—why should he suspect the idle sons of the south of such laborious and superfluous frauds?—whilst he not very reasonably censures classical Italy for not being romantic.

"The question now was whether we should, according to our original intention, cross over to Sicily or begin our homeward journey. What we had seen of Italy, and the assurance of well-informed persons, that Sicily is a yet more detestable country than Italy, that there are in the island no roads, no post-houses, no inns, but more filth and more vermin even than here; that there, too, no woods and meadows are to be seen upon the naked volcanic soil, although perhaps a few more palms, aloes, and cactuses than in the peninsula, and an orange plantation or two, which being some miles in extent, may be called orange woods," [orange woods or groves are among Nicolai's chief *desiderata* throughout Italy,] "in which, however, swine are fattened;—all this determined us to commence at once our return from the Hesperian land. Even the proposal at least to visit Capri and Ischia first was unanimously rejected. A picture of the Azure Grotto at Capri, purchased this morning, might have allured us thither, but a German tells us that it is a barefaced imposition, and the grotto a mere stalactite grotto. We saw the finest of such grottoes at Adelsberg. * * * Lastly, I proposed a trip to Pæstum. It was objected, that nothing was to be seen there except the ruins of some temples and an amphitheatre; that we know these ruins sufficiently from the views we have of them, by merely considering one half of every view as a lie; and that we have already seen more than enough of ruins. I cannot deny the truth of these objections, or the correctness of the inference, that it would be folly to spend a *kreutzer* for the sake of looking at these heaps of broken stones."

Assuredly, this is the *ne plus ultra* of anti-classicism, or at least of anti-classical-remains-hunting—should we not add of anti-poetical—feelings? We lay down the pen, lest we should injure its effect.

Since writing these remarks we have met with so fierce a German critique, or rather onslaught, upon poor Nicolai, that we, who own a sort of knight-errant disposition to do battle for the weak, feel tempted to strike out all our censures, and leave Italy and the *miso-Italy* tourist to the impartial judgment of the travelled reader. But no! We restrain our chivalrous propensities. The sheer truth which we have written shall stand; and we will content ourselves with adding, for the information of the reader, travelled or untravelled, that Dr. Wolfgang Menzel, after confessing that the late extravagant eulogies of Italy might naturally produce as extravagant a re-action, clearly convicts M. Gustav Nicolai of having thought more of petty discomforts than of Roman grandeur, classical remains, or Italian art, and of having suffered himself to be egregiously cheated, without enjoying the mental quiet usually consequent upon scattering money blindfold: that Dr. Menzel further proves that, had Nicolai liked Italian, *alias* oil, cookery, he would not have disliked Italian dinners; that, had his teeth been as good as his critic's, he could have eaten Lombard bread; with sundry other matters of equal moment. In

conclusion, we have only to regret that the Prussian traveller could not see this South-German critique of his travels before he undertook them, as he would then have known how to bargain with innkeepers and *Ciceroni*, how to pay waiters, porters, and post-boys, and how and where to get good wine; the result of which knowledge would, we are convinced, have been his seeing Italy in a more agreeable light.

ART. VIII.—1. *Examen histórico de la Reforma constitucional que hicieron las Córtes generales y estraordinarias desde que se instalaron en la Isla de Leon, el dia 24 de Setiembre de 1810, hasta que cerraron sus sesiones en 14 del propio mes de 1813.* (Historical Inquiry concerning the Constitutional Reform made by the General and Extraordinary Cortes, from its installation in 1810 till its dissolution in 1813.) Por D. Agustin de Argüelles, Diputato en ellas por el principado de Asturias. Londres. 1835.

2. *Un Chapitre de l'Histoire de Charles V.* Par le Baron de los Valles. 8vo. Paris. 1835.*

THE nature of the political struggle in which Spain has been engaged for the last twenty-eight years cannot be well comprehended, nor its apparent effects fully appreciated, without an intimate acquaintance with the general history of the Spanish nation, and a careful examination of the events which have taken place in that country during the above-mentioned period. Few, very few of the foreign writers, who have undertaken the task of relating the events of the peninsular war, have performed it in such a manner as to convey to the reader a correct idea of the political character of the revolution which the invasion of Napoleon was the means of developing in Spain. The native historians, trammelled hitherto by a rigorous and tyrannical censorship, have not been able to present a record of that eventful period with such fidelity as would entitle it to the name of history. We have ample accounts of the battles, sieges, and other military transactions, but are left totally in the dark with regard to the political, moral, and intellectual state of Spain at the commencement of the war. Hence the errors committed every day by the public press whenever it treats of Spanish affairs. Even some of the Spanish

* An English translation of this book has been published by Mr. Bentley, with the title of "The Career of Don Carlos since the Death of Ferdinand VII., being a Chapter in the History of Charles V., by his Aide-de-camp, the Baron de los Valles."

periodical writers evince great ignorance of the political history of their nation, when they hold forth the constitutions of France and Belgium as models fit for the reorganization of its government, as if Spain had not a constitution of its own, adapted to the manners and habits of its people, incomparably more liberal than any of those productions of novices in liberty; and when they strenuously advocate that Napoleonic system of centralization, as contrary to the spirit and letter of its laws as to the character and disposition of the people—a system in which that modern tyrant aimed at realizing in the political body the desire of Nero, in wishing that all mankind had but one head, that he might have the pleasure of cutting it off. Those constitutions may be excellent for the countries for which they are designed, but will never be suitable to a people as different from either the French or the Belgians as they are from the inhabitants of the coast of Patagonia.

The Hispano-Gothic monarchy, to which the present Spanish owes its origin, was elective. The kings were obeyed and respected as such only as long as they themselves obeyed the laws* enacted in parliaments for the welfare of all.† This principle was preserved in the different governments established throughout the Peninsula, when the nation began to shake off the dominion of the Arabs. The disturbances produced by the pretensions of the different claimants to the royal dignity, obliged the nation to give a tacit consent to hereditary succession to the crown about the twelfth century, but it never renounced the right of calling to, or excluding from, the throne those princes whom it considered fit or unfit to occupy it. Thus, even during the life of Alonso el Sabio, the author of the law of Partidas, which prescribes the mode of succession, the Cortes excluded the heir called by law, and elected the younger branch of the royal family. In the same manner, the new governments adopted a uniform mode of administration. The power of enacting laws, levying taxes, and deciding upon all matters of great national interest, resided in the great council of the nation, known by the name of Cortes. They were at first composed of the nobles, the

* "Rectè igitur faciendo regis nomen benignè tenetur, peccando vero amittitur. Unde apud veteres tale erat proverbium: *Rex ejus eris si rectè facis, si autem non facis non eris.* Regiæ igitur virtutes præcipuæ duæ sunt, Justitia et Veritas," says the first law of the Forum Judicum, from which the Arragonese probably borrowed the form of their famous oath of allegiance to their king.

† "Erit (Artifex legum) in adhibentione Deo sibique tantummodo conscius, concilio probis et pravis admixtus, assensu civibus populisque communis; ut alienæ provisor salutis commodius ex universale consensu excerceat gubernaculum quam ingerat ex singulari potestate judicium." Such is the description which the fifth law of the same code gives of the legislative body and its duties. The acts of those parliaments, or *consilii*, as they were called, are still extant, and these laws of the Forum Judicum are now in force.

bishops, and the high officers of the state, to which was afterwards added the popular branch, consisting of the deputies of the cities and boroughs, the population and wealth of which enabled them to assist the government with money and arms, and to defend it against the haughty and ambitious pretensions of the powerful vassals of the crown.

It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that in none of the representative constitutions of the different states of the Peninsula the legislative body was divided into two chambers or houses. In all of them the nobility and clergy were indeed admitted, but they did not deliberate separately from the deputies of the cities and boroughs, and in Arragon the ecclesiastics were not admitted into the Cortes until 1301, according to Blancas the historian.

Contemporary with the admission into the Cortes of the representatives of the people was the establishment of municipal councils, the members of which were annually elected by the inhabitants of the respective cities or boroughs, every householder having a vote—that being the only qualification which, until the present time, the law of Spain required in the elector. The power of these municipal councils, called Ayuntamientos or Concejos, was very extensive. To them was confided the power of administering justice within their respective districts, levying taxes, raising troops, and the whole political administration of the commune.

These two innovations in the original constitution greatly diminished the power of the feudal lords, and gave to the body of the nation a spirit of freedom and independence which soon rendered it conspicuous among the states of Europe.

Unfortunately, the great power of the Moors prevented the nation from acting with union and concert. Having risen against them in divers points and at different periods, the nation began the work of its restoration by forming different independent states, the jealousies and rivalry of which retarded for a long period the total expulsion of the invaders. These governments sprang up in the midst of a cruel and devastating war. The unquenchable hatred of invaders and invaded scarcely permitted any repose; and if peace was concluded at different times, it was in fact nothing but a suspension of arms, or at most a truce of uncertain duration. The barons, being bound to follow the king to the field, and to arm themselves at their own expense, constantly kept up a numerous body of forces, which they frequently used rebelliously to exempt themselves from obedience to the government, whenever the king refused to accede to their ambitious demands.

Among their criminal pretensions, none was more injurious to

public order than their claims to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the national tribunals, the authority of which they disowned even in case of the most common and glaring crimes. Rendered proud and insolent by their immense wealth, the great number of vassals whom they had continually in their suite, and consciousness of the need which the kings had of their assistance, from subjects they frequently became petty independent sovereigns, with whom the monarch was forced to enter into negociations and treaties in order to pacify them.

" Hence the want of security both for person and property; the violation of the most solemn contracts; the ruin of trade and industry; frequent interruptions in the administration of justice; and finally, the state of interior warfare in which Spain was involved for eight centuries, and which caused the government to degenerate into a kind of military rule, that circumscribed the influence of the free institutions upon which it was founded.

" In this continual struggle between the law and the sword the nation was engaged, when, about the end of the fifteenth century, the two kingdoms of Arragon and Castile were united under one sceptre. The conquest of Granada, which followed that event, consummated the restoration of Spain; and, with the union of the monarchy and the extinction of the Mohammedan power, the terrible principle of military violence, which had been so predominant in the government of both kingdoms, was happily annihilated. As it was not now found necessary to continue the system of internal warfare, which was promoted on the one hand by the rivalry of the neighbouring states, and on the other by the presence of an enemy as bold as irreconcileable, the government was not constrained to allow the great lords, the masters of the different military orders, and other chiefs of the frontiers, to keep a threatening attitude, or to continue in the independent, lawless, and turbulent state in which they lived under the protection of their castles and strongholds.

" The firm and energetic character of Ferdinand the Catholic, and his great capacity for business, rendered him a prince the best qualified to give to the supreme power that system and unity which it so much needed at the commencement of a new æra. But for two great errors—the persecution of the Jews and the establishment of the Inquisition—his reign might be cited as a model of a wise and prudent administration. Knowledge spread throughout the nation, and Spain began to reap the benefits resulting from a free and enlightened government, by means of which it bade fair soon to attain the highest degree of prosperity and greatness. The prospect could not have been more flattering, but an event not foreseen by the laws of either kingdom blighted the hopes which the nation had conceived.

" The premature death which successively carried off the princes Juan and Miguel, one the son and the other the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, already acknowledged crown-princes of Arragon and Castile, called by the order of succession to the united kingdoms a princess married in a foreign country. This unfortunate event, which caused the

crown to pass to a foreign race, without the nation having taken any precautions to secure its liberty against the influence of princes born and educated out of Spain, was the germ of the civil discord which plunged that country into an abyss of evils, and reduced it to an ignominious state of slavery, under which it has groaned for the space of three centuries. The reins of the government having been placed in the hands of a foreign prince, young, without experience, and surrounded by evil counsellors, dissensions and disturbances very soon spread over the nation, and ended by dividing it into two factions. The high clergy and the nobility, after rousing, by their complaints and threats, the popular fury against the ministers, separated their interest from those of the other classes, and openly espoused the cause of the court. Fortune declared itself in their favour, and against those who had hoisted the standard of liberty. Not content with their triumph in the field of battle, and with causing all the chiefs of their adversaries to be executed without trial, the nobility and the clergy surrendered every thing undiscretionally to the king, without considering that he was absent from the kingdom, and surrounded by the same courtiers who had provoked the civil war,—without reflecting that those courtiers, irritated against the nation because it had vigorously resisted their extortions and violence, would carry their vengeance to the extreme point to which their wrath and passions would assuredly prompt them. Their inconsiderate confidence went still further; they placed themselves in the hands of the government without any stipulation or guarantee.

"Although the king feigned to have forgotten their former conduct, he well knew that their jealousy and quarrels with his Flemish ministers had not contributed less to inflame the nation, than the complaints and protestations of the representatives of the people. The rights and privileges of the nation having been destroyed, time and circumstances could not fail to offer to the king an opportunity for depriving the privileged classes also of their political prerogatives, the possession of which alone confers influence and power in the state. This opportunity was very soon offered.

"Pressed by the exigencies in which his military expeditions continually involved him, he summoned a meeting of the three states of Leon and Castile at Toledo, in 1538, for the purpose of granting to the crown an extraordinary and general supply. The king proposed a tax upon the articles of food as the most expeditious. The grandees and knights vigorously resisted the proposed imposition on the plea of their privileges; and, in order to give greater effect to their opposition, they earnestly solicited a conference with the Commons to discuss the matter; but they did not recollect that they had themselves destroyed their authority and influence, which they missed when the evil was irreparable.

"The conference having been rejected by the king, the nobility resolutely refused the supplies. Irritated at their conduct, he severely reproved them for their obstinate refusal; and, after signifying to them in a haughty and scornful message that 'their assembly was not the Cortes,' and that there were no states—that he wanted 'assistance for the time present, and not advice for the future,' he dismissed them with

the firm resolution of never again summoning the privileged classes to the Cortes, though the clergy had voted the impost without claiming their ecclesiastical immunities.

"Thus ended in Castile the privileges which gave to the nobility and clergy a direct influence in the state, and this was the consequence of those two classes having conquered and humbled the nation by the inconsiderate and cruel war with which they opened the door to the usurpations and violence that consummated the ruin, perhaps, of the most liberal government at that time existing in Europe. Those two classes (the nobility and clergy) lost from that time the constitutional influence which hitherto they possessed in the state. The kings thenceforward addressed the deputies of the cities and boroughs for the imposition of taxes, the enactment of new laws, or other matters of general utility and interest. The nation from the same period looked up to its representatives, expecting from their efforts protection and defence, and the preservation of the scanty portion of liberty which it still retained. After this revolution the nation began to decline rapidly, although the evil was not perceptible for some time; the unconscious Spaniards being dazzled with the false splendour of their expeditions and conquests. The nobility, dragged into foreign countries in the train of him who had now dropped the title of King of Spain and was only called Emperor, and forgetting in the bustle of the camp and imperial festivals that their country remained in chains, merely sought a compensation for their lost rights in the gracious favours which that prince with so liberal a hand bestowed on them in and out of the peninsula."

It may be said that from this period the nobility ceased to exist as a part of the political body. Its members became mere servants of the royal household; they were not permitted to marry without the king's express consent; they were not allowed to leave the court without a special permission of their master; and, what seems incredible, they considered it a punishment to be sent to their own estates.

"The civil war having ended so unfortunately for the nation, the clergy employed all their energies in securing themselves in future against the danger of an extensive reform in their immunities. Not content with the expulsion and spoliation of the Jews and Moriscos, they made every effort in their power to strengthen and extend the Inquisition. The doctrines of Luther and other reformers, and the policy of Charles I. and his son Philip II., calculated to check the progress of reformation in Germany and Flanders, offered the clergy a most plausible pretext for persecuting every person in Spain without distinction of class, sex, or age. The secret proceedings in the suits instituted for crimes against the faith, the faculties which every day the inquisitors arrogated to themselves, the facility of concealing, under the cloak of extirpating heresy, every lawsuit instituted with a sinister purpose, placed in their hands an immense and terrible power, which the Cortes alone would have been able to wrest from them, had not their authority and influence terminated with the submission of the nation.

"At the end of the seventeenth century an incomprehensible transformation in all classes made it apparent that the nation was declining rapidly to its ruin. The nobility, representing the names of their ancestors only, submitted like the other classes to the arbitrary power of the government, and to the influence and direction of the clergy, having totally lost that independence which appeared inseparable from their pride and wealth. In the other classes public spirit was not less extinguished or misdirected. Part of the Spanish youth sought in foreign wars and expeditions the employment which they could not find in their own country, from the want of scientific and useful knowledge, and the general depression in which the industrious classes were held. Many crossed the seas to make a fortune in the new world, and returned afterwards to their native country to found convents, and to endow churches, religious confraternities, and other so-called pious institutions. At that period the only flourishing class in the nation was the Church. Immensely rich and influential, it eclipsed with its splendor and opulence the ecclesiastical establishments in all the states of Europe. Its dominion had subdued every thing. In vain did men of learning and patriotism endeavour to counteract its power by attempting to inspire in the minds of the labouring and industrious classes a love of application to letters, the arts, and other pursuits beneficial to the state. All was useless; the causes of the evil remained unalterable."

Such was the state of the Spanish nation when Charles II., the last of the Austrian dynasty, approached his end, leaving no issue behind him.

"Foreign ambition was in the mean time agitating a variety of plans directed to the partition of Spain, with a view of intimidating and preparing it to throw itself into the arms of those who coveted the spoil. The court, at the same time, amused, like the vulgar, with the exorcisms and ridiculous ceremonies with which the priests pretended to expel the evil spirit out of the supposed bewitched prince, allowed a bishop, (Cardinal Portocarrero,) as ignorant as he was bold, to prepare the most scandalous usurpation recorded in the annals of the nation, leaving him to consummate it by means of the last will of the prince, suspected, at least, of fraud and violence—a disposition ignominious to the nation, since it converted it into an estate transmissible at the will and caprice of the master of a neighbouring state.

"Philip of Anjou took possession of his new kingdom without any other check, restriction, or rule, than his will. Absolute power was *de facto* established, and even the oligarchical faction of the nobility, who for some time had exercised a power in the name of the Austrian monarchs, was for ever excluded from any share in the cabinet of the new court. Cardinal Protocarrero, not content with having disposed of the monarchy as if it had been a benefice of his archbishopric, actually formed a secret junta of government, in which he introduced the ambassador of France with a voice and vote."

This is one of the greatest evils which have afflicted that unfortunate country to this day. The saying of Louis XIV. when his

grandson became King of Spain, "*Il n'y a plus des Pyrenées,*" has proved but too true; and it is painful to observe that Spain has ever since been little more than a province of France, whether governed by the Bourbons, Napoleon, or Louis Philip.

The founder of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, not content with abolishing all the privileges of the Spaniards, *in virtue of his royal authority, and by the right of conquest,* altered the law of Partidas, which regulated the succession to the throne, and established a sort of salic law, by which the crown should descend to the most distant male of the family, in preference to the nearest female. As the writers who have espoused the cause of Don Carlos in this country seem to found all the pretended rights of this prince on that law, and on the constitutional manner in which it was enacted, it may be proper to quote here what the Marquis of San Felipe, the historian of that period, says on this subject:—

"The king, having consulted with the royal council, found such variety of opinions (for the most part equivocal and obscure), that, indignant at the obscurity of their report, and the opposition of the councillors of Castile, he ordered the original consultation of the royal council to be burned, in order that at no future time there might be a motive of doubt and a cause for a war; and that every councillor should give his vote in writing, and forward it, sealed, to him."*

But to return to our subject.

"The death of Louis XIV. changed the foreign policy of Spain. Personal resentments, and consequent disagreements, between Philip V. and the regent, Duke of Orleans, interrupting the harmony of the two governments, diminished the ascendency which the cabinet of Versailles had exercised over that of Madrid. Although the principle of the family compact, in which that influence was founded, was not—nor is even at this day—destroyed, new interests were, however, created, and the Spanish ministers began to act for themselves, and with a certain degree of independence.

"The peaceable maxims which distinguished the reign of Ferdinand VI. favoured the sensible views and patriotic designs of his ministers. All exerted themselves in zealously promoting public education, and in extending the influence of the scientific and literary institutions which owed their foundation to the government of his predecessor. Agriculture, arts, manufactures, interior and foreign commerce, soon began to recover from the depression occasioned by the war of succession. A new vigour and a new life announced every where that the regeneration of the nation had begun; that a moral revolution was brooding in its bosom, which could not fail, before many years elapsed, to raise it to the prosperity, lustre, and power, which it had lost.

"Charles III. ascended the throne when Europe was in the highest

* See the account which is given of the introduction of the Salic law, in the *Comentarios* of Marques de San Felipe, tom ii. pp. 36, 37.

state of learning and civilization, and many of its princes were, with noble emulation, occupied in legislative reforms, and in promoting every measure which could conduce to the happiness and opulence of their states. In Spain the high nobility continued every day to separate themselves from public affairs, and the inferior nobility followed their example in the provinces. Destitute of any political stimulus which might inspire them with sentiments of noble political ambition, both looked with an indifferent eye on the new direction which the popular mind began to take. Satisfied, apparently, with their wealth and courtly honours, they did not perceive the rapidity of the change which was altering the relations between the different classes of society, or that, unless they hastened to recover their lost influence in time, the new interests created every day, and the diffusion of knowledge would necessarily produce in the end a moral revolution in the state, which would transfer the political preponderance to those classes which only lost it by a rare combination of misfortunes, usurpations, and violence.

"The clergy, although still retaining their riches and immunities, could not but perceive that their inspirations were not listened to with the same docility and respect as before. The evil had penetrated so deeply as to reach their own bosom. The learned monk, Feijoo, in a plain and familiar style, had made a bold and decided attack on the popular errors with which the superstitious credulity of the vulgar was fed, while the variety of his critical and interesting essays inspired persons not devoted to literary pursuits with a taste for reading and for scientific and philosophical investigations."

Charles III. was, perhaps, the fittest prince to occupy the throne of a monarchy, in which the ancient traditions of liberty, glory, and power, began to revive with the progress of learning, but where their progress, being slow and gradual, did not provoke such bold reforms as to intimidate the government. He was a man exempt from violent passions, irreproachable in his private conduct, accustomed, by habit, to strict order and system in the management of public affairs, and a scrupulous observer of every thing which decorum prescribes in the public conduct of the chief of a great and powerful state. He listened to advice with docility and sincerity, adhered firmly to what he had once resolved upon, and waited with prudence for the result of his measures. Men of penetration and energy, profiting by this favourable circumstance, united in mutually communicating their ideas, and in joining their efforts towards the attainment of the great object recommended by the spirit of the age. During this king's reign, several great reforms took place, the most important of which were the abolition of the order of the Jesuits, the re-modelling of the universities, the establishment of public schools, the formation of œconomical and literary societies in almost every province, the addition of the commune deputies, annually elected by the householders, to the municipal bodies, the officers of which had by abuse

become hereditary, and the check placed against the ambitious pretensions of the court of Rome, by the reform of the tribunal of the Pope's nuncio.

Unfortunately, Charles III. died when the symptoms of a great political revolution began to appear in France. The greatest circumspection, the most consummate prudence, in the government of his son would scarcely have been sufficient to devise measures to counteract the effects of the example which the conduct of France necessarily produced in Spain, which, for the space of a century, had been powerfully influenced by the former country. The administration of France, its policy, its language, its literature, the taste and elegance of the manners of its inhabitants, and even the frivolity of their fashions and caprices, had all been, during that long period, the object of imitation at court, and of admiration and study for all classes of persons of any education.

The æra of reform on which France was entering offered to the eyes of the Spaniards a spectacle at once extraordinary and worthy of their contemplation and study. The historical monuments of their own country, the most venerated records, the most popular traditions, all contributed to produce this result. The Spaniards, who had possessed equal rights for ages, could not but know that the causes which produced their establishment in France prevailed with equal force and urgency in Spain; and they felt an ardent desire to imitate the noble example which they had before their eyes. The crimes which afterwards disgraced the French revolution undoubtedly alienated the minds of many who had enthusiastically praised the just and moderate liberty which was at first proclaimed; but, while they condemned the excesses that were committed, they never confounded them with the principle in which the reform originated, or with the noble and generous end to which it was directed.

A wise and prudent government ought likewise to have separated those two important considerations. But what was the conduct of the Spanish government? It persecuted indiscreetly and indiscriminately all such as showed themselves to be friends of reform. The gravity and decorum of the court of Charles III. was succeeded, not by a delicate and elegant gallantry, which at least covers its excesses with a decent veil, but by the grossest dissoluteness and profligacy. The revenues and resources of the state, the patrimony of the crown, the property mortgaged as a security for the public debt, the funds belonging to charitable institutions, to establishments for education, and institutions for the encouragement of arts, sciences, and industry, even private capitals and deposits—all fell a prey to the rapacity of the new

government, to satisfy the caprices of paramours, to enrich despicable favourites, and to appease their insatiable thirst of gold. Public offices in every branch of the administration served as a reward for prevarication and perjury, for the most scandalous prostitution, for the vile flattery of obscure and unknown parasites, for informers and Simonists. The integrity of judges, the independence of the tribunals, the firmness and uprightness of the first magistrates and public functionaries, were considered as acts of resistance and disrespect to the supreme authority, and were punished with arbitrary imprisonment and exile.

Upon the death of Louis XVI. the Spanish government had the imprudence to join the other European powers against France, without perceiving the danger of bringing into contact the troops of the two nations, and thus affording an opportunity to the Spanish army to imbibe the revolutionary doctrines of their enemies. If the declaration of war had been an act of inconsiderate rashness, the peace of Basle was not less imprudent. Scarcely a year had elapsed, when the nation was involved in war with England.

The Spanish government, reckoning more and more every day on the bad policy of the French Directory, began to entertain expectations of re-establishing the former French influence in Spain, in the hope of favouring the restoration of the dispossessed family, or the monarchical government in France. The perpetual consulship inspired it with more confidence, and the elevation of Bonaparte to the imperial throne effectually removed its apprehensions. From the moment of his elevation, that monarch endeavoured to form in Spain a party devoted to his interests, believing that the nation, being sunk into that state of ignorance and degradation which ill-informed travellers represented it to be, still continued as indifferent to its fate as in the time of the Succession War.

The Peninsula was soon inundated with imperial agents, commissioned to promote the interests of their master by every means in their power. Among others, the most remarkable was the diligence and activity with which periodical and other publications were disseminated, in which France was represented as the arbitrator of the destinies of Europe, in order that Spain might be persuaded that it could not preserve its political existence, or maintain its true interests, unless it formed the most close and unreserved alliance with France. These doctrines unfortunately not only found followers among some persons of influence, who had allowed themselves to be dazzled by the brilliant fortune of Napoleon, but even the government entertained them, and the court bestowed on them the most unbounded applause. Thus

the ties of union with France became every day more close, until at last the nation saw with astonishment a French army occupy the principal military points of the Peninsula. Aroused from its slumber, and supposing the Queen's favourite to be the cause of all the evils which had befallen the nation, the people rose and effectually destroyed his power. In consequence of this event, Charles IV. abdicated in favour of his son, Ferdinand VII. The new king, as blind as his councillors, earnestly solicited a matrimonial alliance with his supposed friend, and the whole royal family even made Napoleon the arbitrator of their private quarrels. They went so far as to place themselves in his hands, and, with indignant astonishment, the Spaniards saw themselves transferred from one master to another, with as little ceremony as a drove of cattle. They saw more. They beheld the high nobility, the clergy, the principal functionaries of the state, submit to these disgraceful transactions, and do homage to the new master to whom they had been transferred.

The Spanish people, then abandoned to their own resources, proclaimed *de facto* "that they were not the patrimony of any family or person." Legitimacy was then destroyed by its own votaries. The kings had broken the social compact: it was for the people to reunite it. Provincial governments were formed by popular election, composed not of the mob, but of the persons most influential in the province for their riches, learning, and patriotism. For two years had the people been exercising the sovereign power, when the General Cortes of the kingdom were called together to sanction *de jure* that power, and to adopt such measures as their prudence and wisdom might suggest, to prevent in future the repetition of the evils under which the nation was suffering.

The revolution was purely popular. The nobility, far from taking any part in it as a body, had openly declared against the nation. Where were then the elements for the Cortes to form an Upper House, the want of which is the original sin of the constitution of Cadiz or of 1812? That constitution bears, indeed, decided marks of the times and circumstances under which it was framed; but, because it may be thought by foreigners imperfect or too democratical, are the Spaniards to be for ever subjected to arbitrary misrule, or is the so-called Holy Alliance, or even Louis Philip, or any other foreign government, to prescribe the manner in which it is to be perfected? Spain will answer these questions with an indignant NO!

When Ferdinand returned from his voluntary captivity to the throne which his people had conquered for him, the first thing he did was to overthrow the institutions formed in his absence, and

then send into exile, bury in dungeons, or doom to the scaffold, those very men who had been most conspicuous for their patriotism and loyalty. He put forth the declaration that the Spanish government had never been despotic, while he exercised the most atrocious despotism; he promised to restore the institutions he had destroyed, but never fulfilled his word. The clergy not only abandoned the people with whom they had made common cause during the war, but invented the grossest calumnies against the friends of legal reforms, representing them as enemies to the altar and the throne.

After six years of misrule, eight thousand men in a corner of the Peninsula pronounced the words *Constitution* and *Liberty*, and their voice was re-echoed through the whole Spanish nation. To pretend that that insignificant force compelled the nation to adopt a system of government which it abhorred, is to make the persons who composed it more than men. The king pretended to accede to the clamours of his subjects, and told them that he had been deceived, but that now he would be their leader in the constitutional path. The ambitious pretender, who is now desolating the northern provinces of Spain, thus addressed the Spanish army, after having received from them the oath to the constitution in 1820: "Soldiers, the act by which, in sight of those banners, you have solemnly declared the most firm adherence to the political constitution of the monarchy, has imposed on you great obligations, and at the same time has opened for you a brilliant career, in which you may gain immortal glory. . . . . To support the constitutional system; this is our sacred duty—this is what your king expects from you, and in this, I, your companion in arms, will give you an example."

While they were making these solemn promises, both he and his brother were plotting underhand to destroy the cause which they pretended to have sincerely advocated; and, after failing in the attempt to accomplish their purpose with the national forces, they applied for support to their Holy Allies; and, with the money which the poor deluded Spaniards paid to their priests for the good of their souls, an army of one hundred thousand mercenaries was sent from France to destroy a system of government so much abhorred by the nation, and to replace the Spanish king in the plenitude of his power.

Ferdinand, released from his third captivity, restored to the clergy all their influence and authority, sent into exile or caused to be publicly executed thousands of his subjects, instituted a political inquisition under the name of police, never before known in Spain; and, while he ordered all the universities

to be closed, he established schools of Tauromachia, or bull-fighting.*

His subjects with unexampled patience endured all their miseries, until Providence afforded a prospect of a termination to their woes by the death of their tyrant. The queen-regent granted an amnesty for political offences, but at the same time her ministers solemnly declared that her intention was to continue to exercise the same arbitrary rule as her husband. The patience of the Spaniards was at last exhausted, and all the authorities of the provinces addressed the queen, demanding a reform in the system of her government. Her ministers were changed, and the new government, desirous of gaining supporters against the ambition of the king's brother, issued an ordinance which it decorated with the name of royal statute, to regulate the form of assembling the Cortes for the purpose of granting the supplies of money which it needed, approving such measures as might be proposed to them by the ministers, and making to the crown such petitions as they might think requisite for the good of the nation. The ministers made also some administrative reforms, but in every other respect arbitrary power continued unimpaired; the same oppressive system of police, almost the same trammels for the press, the same power in the governors, judges, and magistrates, to punish, even without a trial, any one who might become obnoxious to them, to violate the houses of the citizens, to seize and examine their private papers upon the simple deposition of one witness.† In vain did the Cortes solicit the grant of a bill of rights: the ministers deigned not even to answer their petition. At last the nation, tired of waiting, and exasperated with so many disappointments, is rising, one province after another, and, without withdrawing their allegiance from the queen, beginning to exercise those rights of which they have been so long deprived.

Having given this brief sketch of the political history of Spain, abstracted in a great measure from the introduction to the *Exámen histórico*, and added some account of the period from the invasion

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* On the 28th of May, 1830, a school of Tauromachia was established at Seville, near the slaughterhouse, by a royal decree, and endowed with sixty thousand reals, about £1200 per annum.

† In June, 1834, some individual, supposed to be implicated in a liberal conspiracy against the queen's government, accused the Duke of Zaragoza, General Palafox, of having among his papers a list of the names of certain individuals of well-known liberal principles, as fit to occupy the ministerial chairs. Upon that simple deposition an officer took possession of all the general's papers by order of the government; the venerable patriot was put under arrest; but after more than a twelvemonth's proceedings the court declared that the proof of the supposed crime had not been found among the papers of the general, and consequently acquitted him of the charge. A fine specimen this of the liberty of the *Estatuto Real!*

of Napoleon to the present time, we shall now proceed to make a few remarks upon the work itself, previously to which, it may not be amiss to vindicate its author from the malicious attacks of pseudo-liberalism, which has endeavoured to represent him as the champion of a party that has never existed in Spain, viz., the advocates of mob-government.

Don Agustin Argüelles belongs to one of the most distinguished families of Asturias. Elected by his native province a deputy to the extraordinary Cortes in 1810, he there supported the rights of both the throne and the people against the usurper Napoleon, with an eloquence to which his countrymen gave the epithet of *divine*. He had the principal share in the framing of the constitution of 1812; and, on the return of Ferdinand from France, he was immured in a dungeon with the rest of his liberal colleagues. The revolution of 1820 released our author from his long imprisonment, and the king appointed him Home Minister. His administration was distinguished not less by the liberality than by the moderation of its principles. In 1822 he was a second time returned by the province of Asturias to the Cortes. On the dissolution of the constitutional government by the French in 1823, he fled into England, where he remained an exile until last year, when he was recalled by his constituents to be their representative in the new Cortes, where he has energetically maintained the same moderate and liberal principles that he ever advocated. But some of his colleagues, who, in their younger days, belonged to the Spanish liberal school, having become strenuous supporters of the French doctrinarian liberalism, have endeavoured to represent him as an anarchist and a revolutionary demagogue.

During his stay in England he employed his leisure in the composition of the work under consideration, which is, in fact, a memoir on the constitutional reform made by the extraordinary Cortes, with a view to defend that illustrious body against the calumnies with which ignorance, malice, and party-spirit have endeavoured to obscure their patriotic efforts. He gives in his work, with the vigorous eloquence which ever distinguished him, and with the impartiality of a faithful eye-witness, an accurate account of those important transactions in which he had performed so prominent a part, and proves that the constitutional reform achieved by the extraordinary Cortes was not, as it has been erroneously or maliciously represented, a superfluous and arbitrary act on their part, and also shows that its character and extent did not proceed from their wantonness and caprice, but from the irresistible force of circumstances.

The central junta announced in May, 1809, the convocation of general and extraordinary Cortes of the kingdom, for the express purpose of "*laying the foundation* of the government which in

future ought to rule the nation." After the unfortunate defeat which the Spanish army suffered at Ocana, the central junta determined to remove to Isla de Leon. The *consejo reunido*, which was formed by the junta with the ministers of the different councils dissolved by Napoleon in December, 1808, desirous of assuming the supreme power, united themselves with other individuals, who, dreading reform in any shape whatever, entered into a conspiracy against the junta, and, availing themselves of the disorder and confusion of the retreat, contrived to dissolve it after it had appointed a regency, which they hoped would be a tool in their hands to obtain their selfish ends. Having attained their purpose, they then endeavoured to persuade the regency of the danger of assembling the Cortes. The junta had appointed commissioners to prepare the questions to be submitted to the deliberation of that assembly, and also to determine the form most accordant with the Spanish constitution to be given to it. The regency ordered the dissolution of those commissions, and their incomplete reports to be deposited in the archives. It gave, moreover, clear signs of being opposed to the assembling of the Cortes; but being pressed by the universal cry for Cortes, it resolved at last upon their convocation. The regency consulted the *consejo* as to the form to be given to the assembly. The councillors were of opinion, that the three estates ought to meet together, forming one house. After many disputes and long debates, the government adopted the popular form of one house, according to which the Cortes met on the 24th of September, 1810.

The length to which this article has already extended warns us against entering more largely into the merits of Signor Argüelles's book; which we shall dismiss after we have presented another extract of general interest, inasmuch as it gives a vivid and eloquent description of the first and ever-memorable sitting of the constitutional Cortes. This body met on the 24th of September.

"It would be vain," says our author, "to attempt to describe the state of the national mind on that memorable occasion. Until that day, the extensive line from Cadiz to Santi-Petri, not only presented an immense and formidable camp, in which the greatest vigilance was observed, but a fire had been constantly kept up from the batteries, the advanced posts, the light divisions, the gun-boats, and the squadrons of both nations. On the day in question, a general and profound silence was observed from both sides of the line, as if a mutual suspension of hostilities had been agreed upon, which, however, was not the case. At Cadiz the public interest and attention were exclusively directed to the august ceremony which was in preparation. Every one was desirous to witness an act which was to be the harbinger of happier days—days the reverse of those which for the preceding three years had passed in tears and desolation.

"The enemy, who could not be ignorant of what was going on in the Spanish camp, nor fail to perceive, from their positions, with their own eyes, the concourse of people, the general bustle, the universal joy, which reigned at Isla, contemplated, with astonishment, that grand and sublime spectacle, which announced to them new difficulties and dangers in the enterprize in which they were engaged. Many months had not then elapsed since, proud and arrogant with their triumphs, they had summoned Cadiz to surrender. The act which was about to be celebrated in so public and solemn a manner, confirming irrevocably the resolution of the Spaniards, would put an end to all their hopes, if any had remained to them, of being able, either with threats or flattering promises, to subdue so bold and resolute a people.

"At half after nine in the morning, the regency, accompanied by the deputies on foot, proceeded in state to the principal church, amidst universal acclamations and cries of 'God save the nation! God save the Cortes!' After divine service had been performed, and the deputies had taken the oath, they went in the same order to the hall prepared for opening the sessions, which was no other than the public theatre, it being alleged by the regency that this place was the most spacious and convenient. The regency having occupied the throne, the Bishop of Orense, as the president, pronounced a discourse, in which he did not make, as was customary, any specific proposition, but confined himself merely to a general exposition of the state of the nation at the time the regency took into their hands the direction of affairs; the difficulties they had to overcome to assemble the Cortes; the high expectations which the nation had conceived of the prudence and wisdom of its representatives; and concluded by exhorting the deputies duly and faithfully to fulfil the important duty confided to them. When he had finished, the regents withdrew, and, with them, the ministers, who had been present at the ceremony, apparently to witness, officially, the installation of the Cortes. Thus the deputies of the nation were left alone, abandoned to their own discretion, without any rule, direction, or guide, in the presence of an immense crowd of spectators of all ranks, who filled the boxes, the galleries, and the avenues of the theatre. A simple writing-desk, and a few sheets of paper upon a table, at the head of which an arm-chair had been placed, with several common ones around it, constituted all the preparation which the government had made for the solemn re-opening of the general Cortes of a nation so celebrated for its ancient liberty, and for the firmness and bravery with which it had endeavoured, during so many centuries, to maintain it.

"In spite of these difficulties the Cortes, however, without hesitating, entered upon deliberation, and, declaring themselves legitimately constituted into a general, extraordinary and representative congress of the Spanish monarchy, carried by unanimity the two famous decrees which obtained and secured the triumph of the national cause, but which served afterwards as a pretext for the most flagrant act of ingratitude and perfidy, and for the most cruel and scandalous persecution that ever disgraced the history of any civilized country."

Our author here alludes to the effect of the declaration of that

principle of eternal truth in the constitution of Cadiz—namely, the absolute sovereignty of the nation, in virtue of which the Cortes asserted their right, as its representatives, to declare null and void the renunciation made by the king and princes at Bayonne, as being unjust and violent, and chiefly as having been made without the consent of the nation. In virtue of that prerogative, the Cortes acknowledged, proclaimed, and swore fealty to Ferdinand VII. Bonaparte had in his treaties hitherto dealt only with kings, who, according to the sound principles of legitimacy and divine right, had the power of transferring their subjects with as little ceremony as they would so many flocks of sheep; but here he found that he had to deal with the people (meaning by people the collective body of all the individuals who compose the nation), and the bold and frank declaration of that great principle which the Spaniards then made, however the continental sovereigns, after having through it obtained the victory, might denounce it as anarchical and revolutionary, did not fail to produce a prodigious effect, not only with regard to Spain, but to the whole of the continental nations. It is a remarkable circumstance, that some of the organs of the despotic and semi-despotic governments of Europe should now hold the same language which Bonaparte used in his letter to Ferdinand at Valencay: —"England," said he, "foments anarchy and Jacobinism in Spain, with a view of establishing a republic upon the ruins of the Spanish throne and nobility; and I cannot look with indifference on the destruction of a neighbouring nation, whose maritime interests are intimately connected with my own."* It is still more astonishing to see even some of the liberal Spaniards, nay, the very framers of the constitution of 1812, to which they owe their existence as a nation, denounce it as republican and anarchical, and endeavour to bring back the nation to a state of arbitrary misrule. Their imprudent efforts, however, have only served to plunge the country into all the horrors of the most frightful anarchy, from which, it is much to be feared, that it may not be able to extricate itself without passing through a long series of revolutions. And what are, we ask, the signs of republicanism in that constitution? It declares the government of the nation to be a moderate monarchy. According to it, the person of the king is sacred and inviolable; he possesses the power of giving or refusing his sanction to the laws, of causing the same to be executed, of providing for the preservation of order at home, and for the defence and security of the state against foreign enemies. He can declare war and make peace, giving afterwards an official

* See Escoiquiz's account of the transactions which took place at Bayonne in 1808.

account to the Cortes. He appoints all criminal and civil judges, and magistrates, all civil and military officers, all ecclesiastical dignitaries. He possesses the power of granting titles and honours, of commanding the army and navy, and distributing those forces as he may judge most convenient. He is also empowered to direct the diplomatic and commercial relations with other states; to appoint ambassadors and consuls; to direct the coining of money; to employ the funds decreed by the Cortes; to pardon criminals; to propose to the Cortes such laws and reforms as he may deem conducive to the welfare of the nation; to approve or reject the bulls of the Pope, according to the laws; and finally, to choose or dismiss his ministers with absolute freedom. The check put upon his authority by no means degrades his dignity. He cannot prevent the assemblage of the Cortes at the periods prescribed by the constitution; nor suspend, dissolve, or in any other way embarrass their proceedings. He is forbidden to absent himself from the kingdom without the express permission of the Cortes; to abdicate the throne, or renounce any of the royal prerogatives; to give away, exchange, or otherwise dispose of, any part, however small, of the Spanish territory; to make any offensive alliance or commercial treaty with any power, or to assist it with troops or money, without the consent of the Cortes; to impose taxes; to grant exclusive privileges; and, finally, to deprive any of his subjects of his property or liberty. The *veto* of the king is not absolute. To any law, approved of for two years in succession, and by two different Cortes, without the most trifling alteration being made in the original project, the king was bound to give his sanction.

That constitution did not deprive the nobility of their honours, possessions, and titles; neither did it place them upon a level with the mob, or raise the latter to power. Every free-born Spaniard, whether noble or plebeian, lay or ecclesiastic, who possessed some property, trade, or handicraft business, was declared a citizen, and had the right of voting both in the elections of members for the Cortes, and for the municipal councils of boroughs, towns, and provinces. Domestic servants, or those who were in prison, or under sentence of the law, could not claim the rights of citizenship; and it was provided that, from the year 1830, any person who could not read and write should not be allowed to exercise those rights.

Every borough or town had a municipal council, elected every year by the citizens, and likewise every province a junta or provincial council, also elected every two years, and composed of the wealthy citizens, whose duty it was to superintend the finances of the province, to establish municipal councils, to promote educa-

tion, agriculture, commerce and industry, to give an account to the government of any abuses in the administration of the public funds, of the statistics of their respective districts, of infractions of the constitution which might be committed by the public functionaries; and finally, to watch over all the charitable and beneficent institutions, proposing to the government the measures which they might deem necessary for the reform of such abuses as they should have observed.

Every Spaniard was declared to possess the right of freely expressing his thoughts either by word or in writing, under his own personal responsibility to the law;—none could be put in prison arbitrarily by any one, except criminals taken in the act; or be tried, unless by the courts established by law. No civil proceedings could be instituted before any tribunal, unless the parties presented a certificate of the alcalde, or mayor, of their town that they had not been able to settle their dispute in a friendly manner.

These are the principal features of that constitution, which, like all the works of man, may have many imperfections. The article on religion, the system of election, and the want of an aristocratic chamber, are the principal defects alleged against it. The authors of that code had not the presumption to think that they had framed a perfect system of legislation; but, to guard against the danger of yearly constitution-making, they prescribed, in the tenth article, that no alteration, addition, or reform, could be made in it, till eight years after its establishment; that any such alterations must be proposed by twenty deputies; and after having been discussed and approved of by two-thirds of the deputies, a summons should be issued to all the provinces to send new deputies provided with special powers to alter the constitutional law. The allied powers, to say the least, evinced the grossest ignorance of Spanish legislation, when they required of the Cortes, in 1832, to reform the constitution, and the advisers of Queen Christina have acted most imprudently in not having adopted the only legal and constitutional means which the government possessed of putting an end to civil discord. That constitutional charter, reformed by the Cortes, would have established on a firm basis the rule of Isabella, according to it the only legitimate successor to the throne; it would have guaranteed to every province the enjoyment of all the local privileges which could reasonably be desired, and united in one common bond the great family of the Spaniards. It is to be hoped, for the tranquillity of Spain and Europe, that the men now at the head of the nation will see the error committed by their predecessors; and, submitting to public opinion, call around them the representatives of the nation, and, listening

to their advice, will restore tranquillity and peace to that unfortunate country; and that foreign powers will abstain from interfering in the internal concerns of a nation which never has pretended to prescribe to them the manner in which they ought to govern their own states.

The History of Spain by Count Toreno, which we did hope to be able to notice in this article, has not yet arrived in this country; at least it has not reached us. The Spanish *Revista* of the 15th of July, after adverting to all the histories of the Peninsular War which have been written, both by native and foreign historians, gives the decided preference to that of Count Toreno. It is remarked, however, that the work is defective in one point, in which, as we have observed, all the rest are defective too, namely, in not entering into an examination of the political state of the nation at the time when his narrative begins—a circumstance which would have given unity to his history, and accounted for the popular direction which the insurrection assumed.

Count Toreno, it seems, belongs to the school of historians who write *ad narrandum*, not *ad probandum;* but he has not strictly followed either of the two schools, as on the one hand he mixes reflections, and even short dissertations, with his narrative; and on the other, he has not given copies of the different proclamations issued by the juntas of that epoch, and extracts from the periodical publications, so as to afford the reader the means of forming an opinion for himself, unprejudiced by that of the historian. With the exception of these defects, the work is, in the opinion of the writer in the *Revista*, an honourable monument both to the literary talents of its author, and to the nation, the glories of which it records.

Before we proceed to the work of the Baron de los Valles, we shall offer a few observations on the privileges still enjoyed by the provinces which have espoused the cause of the Pretender, with a view to rectify the errors entertained in general in this country on that subject.

The three Basque provinces of Biscay, Alava and Guipuzcoa, and Navarre—have from time immemorial possessed certain privileges, the chief of which consist in electing their own local governments, being judged by their own laws, having a right to redeem themselves with money from personal service in the army, being exempt from the general system of taxes in the Peninsula, and contributing instead to the state a certain sum, approved by their own deputies, which they call a voluntary donation; and, finally, having no custom-houses on the frontier. At the time of the establishment of the constitution of 1812, the Cortes took not only the opinion of the regular deputies of the provinces in the

Congress, but that of other Basque commissioners, expressly summoned, to ascertain the real sentiments of the provinces as to the exchange of their old privileges for those granted to them in common with all the Spaniards under the constitution. As the municipal system of that charter differed but little from their own, and the government had no longer the power to impose arbitrary taxes, they had no difficulty in giving up such of their privileges as were not consonant with that political charter. In 1820 they again gladly received that law, and it is worthy of observation, that, in the junta held at San Sebastian in that year for the purpose of taking the oath of allegiance to the constitution, an old deputy rose and remarked to his colleagues, that, if the constitution should be again abolished, the oath they were going to take should in no manner invalidate their ancient privileges. All the assembly agreed to the proposal, and the oath was taken with that protest. The intrigues of the French emissaries and the Basque priests caused some of the peasantry afterwards to rise in small bands against the constitutional government, proclaiming their privileges. On the restoration of Ferdinand to despotic power, several attempts were made to destroy the only remains of liberty in the Peninsula, and the government succeeded so far as to establish the royalist militia, not without a strong opposition from the local authorities. About 1829 or 1830, the Navarrese were induced by the government to give up some of their privileges, for which they were to receive in exchange a port in Biscay. As that had always been a great desideratum with the people of Navarre, they gladly acceded to the proposal, and to a man would have assisted the government in destroying the privileges of their brothers to obtain their end. Basque commissioners were called to Madrid, where they arrived precisely on the same day on which the news of the French revolution reached that capital; and the ministers, not thinking the time most fit for discussing the question of privileges, dismissed them without adverting to the subject. Some time after the death of Ferdinand, the monks of St. Francis, at Bilboa, excited the mob to proclaim Don Carlos, and one of the deputies joining the rebels, they imprisoned the other deputy, who afterwards made his escape over the roof of the house, and proceeded to France in an English vessel. Similar riots took place at Vittoria and other towns, upon which General Castañon, then commanding in the provinces, issued a proclamation against the rebels, in which he imprudently touched upon the subject of privileges. We pretend not to know what are the real intentions of the queen's government upon the subject, but it is false that the privileges of the Basques have been formally abolished by it.

After these preliminary observations we proceed to examine the work of the Baron. Although bearing a Spanish title, this Baron is, we learn from the preface, a French adventurer, of the name of Mons. Auget de Saint Silvain, belonging to a family whose religious and monarchical principles exposed them to the fury of democratic hatred. On the first return of the Bourbons to France, he pledged himself to devote his life to their defence, and embraced the military career; he followed the king to Ghent in 1815, and returned to France in his train. So signal a proof of attachment procured him a place in the *garde noble*, from which he removed with a view to promotion to a regiment of the line, where, says the translator, he distinguished himself, and seven years afterwards he was attached to the staff of Paris. Some reverses of fortune compelled him afterwards to quit the military profession and embrace a more lucrative one. It seems that he then travelled to England, the United States, Canada, and Mexico, where he often found opportunities to promote the interest of his country, and to propagate his monarchical opinions. The revolution of July found him at his post, and he ran imminent risk of his life during the three days. He then took shelter at Lulworth, whence he afterwards returned to France: but, being persecuted by Louis Philip's police, he escaped into Spain. There he had the most flattering reception from Queen Christina, from her sister, and from the Infante Don Francisco. A superior rank was offered to him in the Spanish army, which he would not accept, in order to keep his sword free from every engagement, and to tender his services to legitimacy, (*credat Judæus!*) which he saw was about to be threatened. Having refused this offer, he was exiled by the queen; and he next went to tender his services to the legitimate Don Miguel, who, however, declined them, in spite of the strong recommendations which the baron brought from the prince's sister, the Infanta Doña Maria Francisca. For this refusal we really feel a respect for Don Miguel. He then espoused the cause of the Spanish Pretender, notwithstanding his having been so particularly favoured by Queen Christina; he became Don Carlos's agent and spy in Spain and Portugal; came over to England with his master; took him through France into Spain, for which he received the title that he now honours himself with; but, having returned to France last December, he was taken by the police, and after long and tedious legal proceedings, he was sentenced last January to three months' imprisonment in St. Pelagie, for having crossed France under a false name. During his imprisonment he employed his time in writing his adventures in the character of Sancho to the new Spanish knight errant, which form the subject—not so amusing,

indeed, as the adventures of the far-famed Knight of La Mancha, yet no less romantic, perhaps no less true—of the volume under consideration.

After occupying two long chapters with the tedious account of the disgraceful intrigues of the *Camarillas* at Madrid, entered into by the partisans both of Carlos and Christina, to secure the sovereignty of Spain on the death of their master, in which account our adventurer shows his partiality for the party of Carlos, and even throws out a hint, which, in our opinion, savours of malice, when he says, contrary to the statement of the bulletin, that the king was found dead when his attendants went to awake him; he informs us that the Spanish government, having discovered that he was plotting with the worthy Bishop of Leon against the king and in favour of Carlos, ordered him to quit Madrid in twenty-four hours, when he took refuge in Portugal. Here he was soon joined by Don Carlos, whom he wished to engage in plots against his dying brother. We transcribe the whole passage, which gives to the life the character of the prince and his adviser.

"I represented to the Infante how important it was that I should return into Spain, make the Royalists acquainted with his intentions, and establish a correspondence with Madrid by Coria, Valencia and Toledo; and with France by Salamanca, Valladolid and Burgos. I then made fresh attempts to overcome the prince's scruples," (he had previously made the same proposal to him, and Carlos answered, that his conscience was opposed to a step which might expose him to suspicion of a guilty design to usurp the government of the kingdom in the lifetime of the king, his brother,) "and induce him to write the letters of service, of which I had furnished him the plan, offering to be the bearer of them to their destination; but all was in vain: I found in Don Carlos a firm determination not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the affairs of Spain. His delicacy and rectitude of principle made him consider as high treason every political measure he might have adopted, even on behalf of his rights, against his brother's government. The princess joined me in deploring this determination; and, with the view of repairing the injury which the prince's scruples might inflict upon his cause, the Infanta Doña Maria Francisca gave me written powers, which authorized me to make known to the Royalists their intentions, and which announced to them that I was possessed of their full confidence. *Don Carlos merely consented to give a tacit approval to this letter.*"

The emissary then crossed the frontier, performed his commission, and returned to Portugal. Again he passed over into Spain, and back to Portugal, whence he embarked for England. Here he announced as apocryphal the proclamations which had been attributed to Carlos, and which were, he says, fabricated in the offices of the Christina police, and then proceeded to Paris, whence he forwarded Carlos's despatches to several Spanish

generals, and to the president of the junta of Biscay. He also sent autograph letters to various sovereigns of Europe, together with diplomatic notes relative to the important communication made to the agents accredited at the several courts by Carlos.

After having accomplished the object of his mission, he sailed for Portugal from Plymouth, in a vessel which was captured by a Spanish brig of war, and carried into Vigo. Our baron, however, contrived to make his escape by land, and again rejoined his royal master, whom shortly afterwards he accompanied to England. His account of the stratagem which marked the departure of Don Carlos from this country, and above all his boasts of having cheated the famous Prince Talleyrand, deserve to be transcribed.

"When Charles V. left Evora to proceed to England, in consequence of the disgraceful treaty of the quadruple alliance, he perceived, in the cautious protection granted to him by the English government, a means of returning to his dominions, where he was anxiously expected, in the heart of the mountains of Navarre, by a small army of his faithful subjects. This impression, which he never ceased to cherish, could alone induce him to quit Portugal, and remove for a short time from the frontiers of his kingdom. Accordingly, the king no sooner arrived at Portsmouth, than he bent his whole attention towards his return to Spain.

"The prince had been pleased to number me amongst the very few of his devoted adherents, to whom he might confide his lofty projects; and he had selected me to accompany him. During his sojourn at Portsmouth, he commissioned me to make preparations for his departure; in obedience to his orders, I performed several journeys to London in furtherance of that object. The most important and arduous arrangement was the procuring of passports: I concerted my measures with Mr. B——, a banker in London, whose zeal for the royal cause, and capacity for business, proved of the utmost advantage to my views.

"After having long and carefully considered what species of passports would prove most suitable to us, we determined that the king and the individual who was to accompany him, should represent themselves as colonists from the island of Trinidad, and that passports should be procured for them in that character. We gave a preference to Trinidad, because it had formerly belonged to Spain; the greater part of the inhabitants still spoke the Spanish language, and consequently any Spanish words which might drop from the king, during the journey we were about to undertake, would not create any suspicion.

"Our passports were delivered to us under the names of Alphonse Saez and Thomas Saubot; the first a merchant, the second a planter in Trinidad, and both Mr. B's correspondents. Mr. Thomas Saubot, then in London, gave me his passport, containing a description, which, by a singular coincidence, perfectly corresponded with my person; the other

was procured by a friend of mine; but they were both ignorant of the use to which I intended to apply them.

"Having thus procured the passports, I collected as many pamphlets and newspapers as I could find respecting the island of Trinidad, and carefully inquired the names of the principal inhabitants of the colony, and of the last arrivals in English harbours, in order not to be taken by surprise, in the event of any unforeseen questions being put to me, With the view of averting the suspicious vigilance of M. de Talleyrand, I next sent, for examination at the embassy, a passport which had been given to me in France, under my real name, six months before; and, in order to allow proper notice to be taken of it, I did not call for its return until two days afterwards. This passport was examined for Hamburgh, my departure for which town I had openly announced to every person of the household of Charles V., having also adopted that precaution towards all my friends.

"I did not fail to tell every one that I was entrusted with a mission of some importance for the north of Germany; that seemed a probable story, as it was known that two vessels were expected at Hamburgh, having two hundred Spanish officers on board, who had been unable to embark with us. It was quite natural that I should proceed to meet with them; many persons accordingly confided to me their letters and commissions, in perfect good faith. M. de Talleyrand was completely the dupe of my contrivance; he notified my arrival to his agents at Hamburgh, and even did me the honour to despatch a special emissary for the purpose of keeping watch over my proceedings; on this occasion, the old diplomatic cunning of Louis Philippe's ambassador was at fault, and *I had the honour of deceiving M. de Talleyrand.*

"It was agreed that the royal family should remove to London. They left Portsmouth on the 22nd of June, and alighted at Gloucester-lodge, the former residence of Mr. Canning. This delightful house is at the distance of two miles from Hyde-park, on the road from Piccadilly. Those who are aware of the influence which Mr. Canning's principles exercised over the destinies of Spain, will think it a singular coincidence, that Charles V. should have proceeded to the conquest of his dominions from the very spot which had been inhabited by the English minister, who chiefly contributed to the revolutions which have desolated the Spanish territory.

"I supplied the instructions to be observed by the persons of his household, at the moment of our departure, as well as during our journey. They were as follows:—His majesty was to sally forth, on the 1st of July, at six in the evening, the hour at which he took his usual walk, in company with M. Aznares, formerly attached to the legation at the court of Sardinia, to take a coach at the first stand, which was at the distance of a mile from his residence, and proceed in it to Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square. I was waiting for him at one of the houses in that street, where he was to cut off his mustachios and get his hair dyed. It was to be said at Gloucester-lodge, as soon as night set in, that the king had returned from his walk with a violent headache, which had compelled him to retire to bed. The physician of Don

Carlos, who would never have consented to be kept away from him, was to be made acquainted with the secret, as well as the king's valet, an old servant on whose discretion perfect reliance might be placed. The physician, after paying a visit to his patient, would write an order which was to be taken for preparation to an apothecary in the neighbourhood, and in which he was to prescribe mustard baths and sinapisms. The queen, the princess of Beira, and the bishop of Leon, were to pass several hours of each day at the bed-side of the august patient; the bishop was even to come on purpose from London, where he resided, in order to be the better enabled to give his attendance to the king; the king's apartment was to be closed against every one else, even the infants, his children; they were to be told that their august father could not see them owing to the violence of his headache; nevertheless, the secret of the voyage was communicated, two days after our departure, to the Prince of Asturias, who expressed the deepest mortification at not having been allowed to accompany his father. The gentleman of the bed-chamber himself, the duties of whose office require his remaining at the door of the king's apartment to receive his orders, was for several days unaware of the king's absence. In the event of the king's departure from London becoming known, two of the gentlemen in attendance upon his majesty were to start for Lulworth in a post-chaise and four; and it was to be stated in the newspapers, that Don Carlos had gone to visit the late residence of Charles X., with the view of fixing himself there, with his family, at a later period. I placed all these instructions, in writing, in the queen's hands, and she condescended to express to me her satisfaction at my conduct.

"At last the king came to an understanding with me, at ten in the morning of the 1st of July, respecting the final arrangement to be adopted for our departure. Previously to my taking leave he allowed me to kiss his hand. 'Sire,' said I, 'this is the last homage I am to pay to your majesty; this very night we are to exchange parts; it will be yours to obey me until you return to your dominions, when each of us shall resume his station.' The king replied with his usual condescension, that he cheerfully consented to the exchange. I then took leave of every person about the court, and left them under the impression that I was proceeding to Hamburgh.

"I was at our rendezvous in Welbeck-street at six in the evening, expecting the king half an hour afterwards; he had not arrived at that hour, and I began to feel uneasy. Nevertheless, this delay was very natural; had not the king, previously to his departure, to leave a crown behind him, a father's crown, which it costs so many tears and sorrows to surrender? He was about to tear himself away from the embraces of a family he had never left, of a cherished wife, of his children, whom it was doubtful he should ever again behold! The heart of a father and of a husband must have bled, when, fulfilling his painful duties of a sovereign, he took leave of his children; his separation from the queen was to be for ever!

"His majesty, accompanied by M. Aznares, arrived at half-past seven. I went to receive him, but at the sight of the king I was so

much affected that he perceived my emotion, and said to me—'You appear alarmed.' 'No, Sire.' 'You are frightened, I tell you,' quickly rejoined the king, 'you are agitated.' 'No doubt, I am Sire, but it is the agitation of enthusiasm. I admire your energy in adopting a resolution which must be attended with such important results.' I presented to the king M. and Madame B——, so well worthy of the confidence he deigned to repose in them.

"The first object attended to was that of disguising the king; he began, with remarkable cheerfulness, by cutting away his mustachios, a sacrifice at all times painful to a Castilian. [The reader might be led by this passage to think that all the Castilians have mustachios, and that it is a very painful thing to part with that ornament, which however is not the case.] The amiable Madame B—— had taken upon herself the task of dying his hair, for her devoted zeal would not allow her to trust to strange hands so important a secret. She was discharging this function with a timid gracefulness, and, when laying her hands, for the first time, on the king's head, she said to him with visible emotion: 'We must indeed, Sire, be living in times of revolution, that I should thus venture to lay my hand upon a royal head.' 'Courage, Madame,' affably replied the king, and in order to calm her agitation, he good-humouredly asked her if one might not likewise procure powder to whiten the hair. '*But the times we live in are such,*' added the king, '*that they would often render it a useless secret.*'

"Pending those preparations, I had retired to make our final arrangements. I took care to apprise the landlord of the house I occupied, that, having to start by the Hamburgh packet at an early hour the next morning, I had determined to sleep on board, in order to be in readiness; this is a very common precaution, and would not raise any doubts; but I adopted it because a Frenchman had called upon me the day before, and offered to accompany me on the voyage; this appeared a suspicious circumstance; and, although I went under a feigned name whilst in that house, I felt apprehensive that this person might have been a spy in the service of M. de Talleyrand.

"On returning to the king, I found him with the Bishop of Leon, M. Aznares, and the bishop's secretary. The latter had just arrived from Gloucester-lodge, where he had sent him in search of the royal seal, which the king had forgotten to bring away. The bishop's secretary informed us that sinapisms were preparing for the patient; this piece of news greatly amused the king, who was cheerfully preparing to step into a carriage, in the full enjoyment of health.

"I learnt that, during my absence, the Bishop of Leon, beset with those advisers who opposed the king's determination, and who exaggerated to him the dangers that his majesty was about to encounter in his adventurous journey, was for a moment in doubt of its success; he felt it his duty to make a last attempt, in order to ascertain whether the king's intention was irrevocably fixed, and had beseeched him to postpone his departure.

"'No!' replied the king, 'I feel something here (pointing to his heart) which tells me that the undertaking will be prosperous; and in

order that God may protect it,' added his majesty; 'I request your blessing.' The king then bent his knee to the ground, and the worthy bishop implored the blessing of Heaven upon his royal head.

"The time of parting had arrived. The king's farewell to the Bishop of Leon, and to the persons who were about him, was most affecting. The clock struck twelve as we stepped into the carriage; we were in Brighton at half-past seven in the morning, and on our passage to Dieppe an hour afterwards."

These specimens will, we think, be sufficient to show the character and tendency of the book before us. We cannot but sincerely lament the fate of a country, under no other rule than the caprice, ambition and selfishness of weak and deluded princes, led away by sycophants and adventurers; and sincerely do we hope that the nation will, ere long, emancipate itself from its protracted minority, and constitute a government upon so solid a foundation, as to secure it from a repetition of the dire calamities under which it is now labouring.

ART. IX.—*Sur l'Homme et le Développement de ses Facultés, ou Essai de Physique Sociale*, par M. Quetelet, Secrétaire de l'Academie Royale de Bruxelles, &c. &c. 2 tomes. Paris, Bachelier, 1835.

In the middle of the last century, a Professor in the University of Göttingen invented the term statistics, to express a summary view of the physical, moral, and political condition of states; he justly remarked that a numerical statement of the extent, density of population, imports and exports, revenue, &c. of a country, more perfectly explained its social condition than general descriptions, however graphic, or however accurate. When such statements began to be collected and exhibited in a tabular form, it was soon discovered that the political and economic sciences were beginning to acquire similar advantages to those which astronomy and general physics had gained by the cultivation of the Baconian philosophy, namely, records of observations that tested the accuracy of established principles, and guided to the discovery of new laws of action. The knowledge thus acquired soon assumed a definite form, and statistics, from being a mere assemblage of facts, gradually rose to the dignity of a science, inasmuch as it connected its facts together by a chain of causation. But the science of statistics existed before its name; Captain John Graunt, of London, merits the high honour of

being its founder. His "Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality," published A. D. 1661, first directed public attention to the important inferences that might be deduced from correct registers of births, deaths, and marriages. The inferences were admired, but the collection of facts to support them has been in England all but wholly neglected up to the present hour.

It is sometimes said that statistics bears the same relation to economic science as mathematics to pure physics; it would be far more correct to compare their connection to that between experimental and abstract science, or between astronomical observations and astronomical science. Like every other branch of human knowledge, the political and economic sciences should be based on an induction from facts, and these facts should be accurately observed and copiously supplied. For many centuries, the sages of Europe and Asia gazed upon the heavens, watched the motions of the stars and planets in their courses, guessed at the laws that regulated their motions, and, content with these guesses, never saw that their theories were refuted by what was passing before their own eyes. The example of the pains-taking Saracens at length produced a due influence on the philosophers of Europe; observations were made in greater number, and with greater care; from these collected observations, which were, for all scientific purposes, so many experiments, the true system of the universe, and the laws that govern the motions of the heavenly bodies, were inferred by legitimate induction: and at this hour the accuracy of the induction is strikingly displayed by the predicted return of Halley's comet, whose period of wandering through the unknown regions of space exceeds the ordinary duration of human life. Have we the same certainty, have we anything like it, in the laws that regulate the social system? The answer at once is in the negative. Is such certainty attainable? We trust in the course of this article to show that it is. Why then has the most important of all branches of human knowledge been left in such a lamentably defective state? Precisely for the same reason that ancient astronomy was defective; our observations of the facts on which the social sciences must rest are miserably scanty; they have been made with imperfect instruments, and they are scandalously inaccurate. And in no civilized state are all these evils more glaringly exemplified than in the British empire.

Among modern statesmen there is no one that has been more honourably distinguished by his exertions to base the legislation of this great empire on the only true foundation of all sound legislation, statistical facts, than the Marquis of Lansdowne.

When first he entered public life, not only did the figures of speech reign triumphant over the figures of arithmetic, but a numerical statement was regarded as a kind of conjurer's juggle, to be admired, applauded, and forgotten, to be any thing but examined. And one of his earliest speeches announced the astounding consequence that the unaccounted-for arrears in our public expenditure amounted to more than four hundred and fifty millions sterling![*] Men of every party combined to remedy such a glaring evil, and our finance reports of the present day, though far from perfect, prevent the recurrence of any similar error. But here we have an example of the neglect of such a statistical fact as the public expenditure of the country, spreading over a period of twenty years, while that expenditure was the subject of debate in every session, in a House of Commons never before or since paralleled for brilliancy of talent.

The state of our commerce and manufactures, the results of machinery, the effects of free trade, are mere arithmetical problems, more or less involved, that may be worked out if correct data are obtained. Their solutions thus educed should be as certain and as little open to cavil as a proposition in Euclid, or the determination of an algebraic equation. Do we possess any such certainty? Have we even approached to it? On the contrary, is it not notorious that on all and each of these subjects fierce controversies rage, and every disputant is prepared to support his own views with a formidable array of figures? It is unfortunately too evident, in every debate on these subjects, that pre-conceived opinions usurp the place of facts, and speculations as unsubstantial as "the baseless fabric of a vision" are substituted for correct observation.

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[*] Lord Henry Petty, in the debate on the West India Accounts Bill, May 21st, 1806, said, that "up to the year 1785, the office of examining and auditing the public accounts of the receipt and the expenditure of the nation was vested in two officers of the Crown. But those officers, like many others, were charged with duties so far beyond the reach of their exertions, and vested with powers so inadequate, that, although their services were not to be deemed entirely useless, they were certainly very inefficient. The noble persons who had then for some time held those official situations (Lords Bute and Sondes,) although they remembered tolerably well that there were salaries to be received, yet, in process of time, forgot that there were duties to be performed, and though they never omitted regularly to receive the salaries attached to their situations, their official lassitude sunk, at least, into a total neglect of those duties." In a subsequent part of the same speech, he stated the astounding fact, that "there appeared to be an aggregate sum of not less than Four Hundred and Fifty Millions Sterling unaccounted for within the preceding twenty years!" He added, with equal force and truth, "It is a fact, too notorious, that this enormous accumulation of unaudited accounts has long served as a shroud and a veil, behind which the most flagitious malversations have been screened from detection and punishment, while it hung, like a gloomy cloud, over the heads of honest and conscientious men, who were rendered unable, in the lapse of half their lives, to obtain a settlement of their accounts and a final exculpation of their conduct."

But these questions, perhaps, may be regarded as very complicated; the statistical returns, for their elucidation, difficult to be obtained; and the relations between the different classes of facts open to doubt and dispute. Assuredly no such objections can be urged against population returns; registers of births and burials require no extraordinary intellectual endowments to be kept with tolerable accuracy; what then is the state of our registration? There is not an insurance office in London, in which the actuaries will not testify that no confidence can be placed in our bills of mortality, and that all calculations based upon them have proved erroneous.

Inveterate customs have, perhaps, perpetuated a vicious system of registration; it is part of a fixed system that baptisms only should be recorded, and that accuracy in the number of deaths should be left to the care of the parish officers; and it would now be difficult, if not impossible, to adopt a more rational course of proceeding, without carrying innovation to parts of the system which have worked well, or which it would be inconvenient to change. Well, there are certain facts which Parliament, in its wisdom, sometimes deems it expedient to ascertain, and it chooses, of course, the best instruments for the purpose; let us see how far implicit confidence is due to Parliamentary returns. In the year 1819, Mr. (now Lord) Brougham moved for returns on the state of education in England; printed queries were sent to the clergymen of the different parishes, and a large proportion of the replies omitted all notice of schools kept by dissenters. Two precious mis-statements have been founded on this error; one, injurious to the clergy themselves, the other, flattering to the rising generation. When the proportion of the uneducated to the whole population was calculated by this false return, an indignant cry was raised through the empire against the church, for leaving so large a body of the people without instruction; and more correct returns since that time have led us to flatter ourselves on an improvement in education, a national progress in intellectual and moral strength, which really has no existence. Very recently the Earl of Kerry, a young nobleman to whom statistical science is already greatly indebted, moved for returns on the present state of education in England. We are fortunately enabled, by the exertions of the Manchester Statistical Society, to test the accuracy of this important document. The committee of that society, in a report read at a recent meeting of the British Association in Dublin, state that they had compared the returns, made to Government from three of the nine townships into which the borough of Manchester is divided, with the existing state of things, and that the following were the results:

"In the township of Manchester alone, which contains a population of 142,000, there are entirely omitted, in these returns, 1 infant school, 10 sunday schools, and 176 day schools, which existed at the period these returns were made, and contained 10,611 scholars. False returns were made by one individual of 3 Sunday schools that never existed at all, and which were stated to contain 1,590 scholars: and double returns were made of three other schools, containing 375 scholars, so that the total error in these returns for the township of Manchester alone was 181 schools and 8,646 scholars. Besides this, eight dame schools were reported as infant schools.

"In Chorlton-on-Medlock, containing a population of 20,500, the returns made to Government show too small a number by 40 schools and 837 scholars. One infant school (a private establishment) was not returned at all; and one Sunday school, which had ceased to exist for more than a year, was returned with 222 scholars.

"In Hulme, containing a population of 9,600, the returns made to Government show too small a number by 14 schools and 864 scholars; and though there was not one infant school in the township, four dame schools, with 112 scholars, were returned under that title. A Sunday school, with 102 scholars, was also returned, which belongs to another township; and another, with 400 scholars, was altogether omitted."†

At the same meeing, Mr. Woronzow Greg, on whose merits as a statistician we need not dwell, presented a report on the Social Statistics of the Netherlands, in which he stated that he was forced to resort to the Netherlands as the country by whose returns the most important social questions should be determined, "having found, on a careful examination of the statistical documents relating to our own country, that they were wholly inadequate to furnish the necessary information."

Is statistical science, then, so worthless and unimportant as to be beneath the attention of the British nation, or are its results so uncertain that they should be regarded as theories to amuse the imagination, or are its lessons so purely speculative as to be regarded among the toys of science? The formation of a statistical section in the British Association, and of a Statistical Society in London, may, in some measure, serve as an answer to these queries; but the best reply will be a careful examination of the nature and objects of statistics, for which we cannot have a better guide than Mr. Quetelet's volumes now before us.

When we cast a glance on the ponderous volumes of legislation,—when we observe the number of absurd and iniquitous laws that disgrace the statute books of every nation under heaven,—when we look at the absurd and mischievous projects that have been not only favoured, but encouraged by the wisest and best of

† Report of the Manchester Statistical Society, printed for private circulation, pages 6 and 7.

statesmen, instead of absurdly attributing weakness or wickedness to the legislators and politicians, we say, with truth, that they acted in ignorance of human nature. Let us pay some attention to an important fact that we enunciate every day, without feeling its great value and its vast significance—"Ignorance of human nature"—it is the cause of at least half the crimes and follies of the world. But there are two species of ignorance, as Plato observed two thousand years ago; ignorance from total want of knowledge; and ignorance from partial knowledge, in other words, from absence of ideas, and from wrong connexions between ideas. The latter is at once the more common and the more mischievous; in order to acquire true knowledge, the wholly ignorant man has only to learn; the partially ignorant has both to unlearn and learn, and to unlearn is the most difficult task that can be imposed on the human mind. It is the second and more mischievous species of ignorance we mean, when we use the phrase ignorance of human nature.

But what is human nature? Every man in the world is assured that he knows what it is thoroughly; but press him for an answer, and he is driven to the reply of the ancient philosopher, "*si non rogas intelligo;*" examine more closely, and you will find that he means his own individual nature, or, if he has exercised any generalization, the nature of the limited sphere in which he moves. A very eminent preacher in the Church of Ireland* said, with equal truth and originality, that most men in their secret soul form a character of God from the exemplar of their own minds; it is in the same way that ordinary men judge of human nature: they deem that they find its archetype in their own bosoms; they feel surprised that the world does not change as they change; and hence the old man tells you how exceedingly good the times were when he was a boy,—meaning thereby that he enjoyed better health and spirits than at present. Here, too, is the secret of intolerance; the evidence for a creed strikes a man's mind with such force as to produce conviction, and he cannot see a reason why it should not produce the same conviction in the mind of everybody else; he cannot understand that evidence, without varying in its nature, may vary exceedingly according to the medium through which it was viewed, and he therefore attributes hardness of heart and perversity of intellect to those who differ from him, and punishes as depravity a necessity of constitution. Ignorance of the law of human nature that guides the formation of opinion,

* The Rev. Henry Woodward of Fethard. His Essays, now about to be published, exhibit an originality and boldness of thought, a skill in metaphysical analysis, and a sweetness of temper, that forcibly remind us of Jeremy Taylor.

has to answer for all the atrocities of religious war, all the horrors of the Inquisition and of the penal laws.

Some, however, make a further progress towards knowledge; they have made researches more or less complete on some of its general laws; they have instituted isolated observations, and have formed theories for certain facts. Let us vary our illustrations, and take an example of this half-knowledge from the commercial legislation of France. To protect the iron works of France, a duty is imposed on the import of the article from abroad, amounting to 150 per cent.; of course every other species of manufacture in which iron is used has been damnified by a law vastly increasing the expense of machinery; but here the legislator confined his observations to one trade, and never for a moment thought of the others. Again, in the silk trade, a duty is imposed on the export of raw silk, to secure a supply of raw material for the manufacturer, and at the first blush the plan may seem judicious. But extend the observations: limited in his market, the silk-grower will not raise more worms than he is likely to sell; the supply for the home market cannot be brought to meet the exigencies of a sudden increased demand, and the manufacturer is absolutely injured by the law devised for his protection.

But we may find a stronger instance of this mischievous half-knowledge without travelling from social into economic statistics, or quitting England for France. It was deemed necessary to check the crime of forgery, and the means devised were, to make it a capital offence. The error founded on partial observation, which led to this murderous statute, is even now sufficiently common; it is, simply, that attachment to life is the most influential motive in the human mind; the application of the principle to the case failed, because it was soon evident that forgers felt life to be but slightly periled. For this blunder there was even then no excuse; over and over again it had been demonstrated that the indiscriminate severity of our penal statutes defeated the object of punishment, that persons wronged refused to prosecute, witnesses fled to avoid giving evidence, or prevaricated in the courts, juries sought the most absurd pretexts to acquit contrary to their oaths, merciful judges made loop-holes in the law, and pardons were, under very equivocal circumstances, granted by the crown; so that, in fact, a criminal about to commit an offence might fairly calculate that, if detected, he had far more chances of escape than a soldier in the field of battle. These statements were made and proved by an unanswerable array of facts; but the persons who thus pleaded were hooted as philosophers, and informed that these matters could be duly estimated only by practical men! Philosophers, we grant, are attached to theories, but really what are

called practical men are the greatest theorists in the world; the difference is, that the philosopher's theory is a general view derived from a large induction of authenticated facts; the practical man's theory is a partial view based on the maxims of his nurse or his grandmother, on some unmeaning phrase of sounding words devised and perpetuated by faction, or at best on the induction of his own narrow judgment and limited experience. The false doctrines of some philosophers have produced a certain amount of mischief, but it is as a drop of water to the whole Atlantic, compared with the vast mass of evil perpetrated by the legislation of those who call themselves emphatically practical men.

To know human nature is to know the general laws of human action, to ascertain the general course of man's physical and moral faculties. Previously to all observation, it might seem that human actions would, if registered, present as vast a variety as the caprices of the will, and that to discover any thing like a law in their production would be more absurd than to investigate the rules of the wind, or the regulations of the whirlwind; yet, when we pass from individuals to masses, we find even in those actions which seem most fortuitous, a regularity of production, an order of succession, that can only arise from fixity of cause. Thus, were a man always to examine only individual drops of water, he could never conceive the beautiful phenomenon of the rainbow; it is only when the drops are aggregated in masses, and placed in a position favourable for observation, that he can contemplate that glorious arch spanning the horizon, and seeming to connect earth with heaven.

Of all the crimes that seem least to depend on human foresight, that of murder would seem the most fortuitous, since for the most part it is perpetrated in consequence of motiveless quarrels, or of circumstances apparently accidental. Yet experience proves, not only that murders vary very little in their annual amount, but that the instruments with which they are committed are annually employed in nearly the same proportions. The following table, establishing this extraordinary fact, has been compiled by Mr. Quetelet, from the records of criminal justice in France. And this uniformity is especially remarkable in a country where murders assume a melo-dramatic form, seeming to require countless coincidences to complete their scenic effect. The details of their perpetration, as recorded in "Les Causes Criminelles Célèbres," show a magnificence in the conception, and a savage atrocity in the execution, to which our judicial records can furnish no parallel.

YEARS.....	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831
Murders in general	241	234	227	231	205	266
By musket or pistol.....	56	64	60	61	57	88
By sword, bayonet, dagger, &c.	15	7	8	7	12	30
By knives	39	40	34	46	44	34
By bludgeons or clubs.....	23	28	31	24	12	21
By stones.....	20	20	21	21	11	9
By mechanical implements, hatchets, chissels, &c.	35	40	42	45	46	49
By strangulation	2	5	2	2	2	4
By throwing down and drowning	6	16	6	1	4	3
By kicks and blows of the fist..	28	12	21	23	17	26
By fire	0	1	0	1	0	0
By means unknown	17	1	2	0	2	2

It is the business of a statistician to collect and tabulate facts in order to discover the laws of their occurrence; it is no part of his proper duty to investigate their causes. But in the present instance there are other authenticated facts, that seem at least to illustrate a general principle connected with this table, which deserve to be noticed. There is no better attested, nor more astonishing, record in history, than the sudden appearance of a disposition to commit some certain crime in a definite manner spreading like a contagious disease, reaching a fearful height in defiance of every effort to repress it, and then gradually sinking into oblivion. The madness of witch-finding in our country and in New England, the crime of poisoning in France when the *Chambres Ardentes* were established, the rick-burning in England within our own memory, are familiar examples. Does not this seem to prove that we might reckon a certain sympathy or principle of imitation among the leading incentives to crime? Let us see if there are any other facts that seem to point at the same conclusion? The following is a table of the suicides committed in the department of the Seine from the year 1817 to 1825, inclusively.

YEARS.....	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825
Totals	352	350	376	325	348	317	390	371	396
By drowning	160	131	148	129	127	120	114	115	134
By fire-arms.....	46	48	59	46	60	48	56	42	56
By suffocation.....	35	35	46	39	42	49	61	61	59
By voluntary precipitations	39	40	39	37	33	33	43	47	49
By hanging	36	27	44	32	38	21	48	38	40
By sharp instruments	23	28	20	28	25	31	47	40	38
By poison	13	21	20	14	23	15	21	28	20

But these are not the only facts to which our attention must be directed; at a meeting of the Academy of Medicine, a few years

ago, Castel mentioned that a soldier in the Hotel of the Invalids, had recently committed suicide by hanging himself from a post in the court; within a few weeks twelve of his comrades destroyed themselves in the same way, and at the same post. The fatal post was removed and the propensity to suicide immediately ceased. Esquirol related six cases of a disposition to destroy children, that had occurred within his experience, since Madame Cornie's trial for that crime. The propensity to suicide was at one time shockingly displayed in an English regiment at Malta; the commanding officer at length ordered that the body of the next suicide should be denied Christian interment, and treated with striking indignity; it was so done, and no other case of self-destruction appeared while the regiment remained in the island. A very intelligent officer, whose testimony was corroborated by a popular magistrate, informed us, while preparing this article, that the propensity of soldiers to use their bayonets on the slightest provocation has been aggravated a hundred-fold since the recent discussions on the propriety of their being permitted to wear side-arms. One more instance and we have done; it is of too grave importance to be passed over lightly.

A clergyman, master of a very large and popular school, the locality of which, for reasons that will presently appear, we must not specify, recently informed one of his friends, that he had discovered a new pupil in the act of practising a disgraceful vice. "Send him home to his parents and say nothing about it," was the friend's judicious recommendation. The schoolmaster however, placed great confidence in his own eloquence and the corrective powers of birch; he assembled his boys, made an excellent harangue on the guilt of the delinquent, and gave him a sound flogging. The example of crime proved more influential than the example of punishment, and the vice spread so rapidly that the whole school was broken up in consequence. These and countless similar facts lead us to question the propriety of describing vice at all, in the moral tales designed for young persons, even though the consequent punishment be ever so strongly depicted. The importance of the lesson will, we trust, excuse the slight deviation from our subject.

Before we quit these tables of murders and suicides, we may notice the value of such returns in a jurisprudential point of view. In France the proportion of suicides to homicides is nearly as 5 to 3, consequently, if a dead body be found in France, without any evidence appearing for the cause of death, there is much greater probability of the deceased having fallen by self-violence than by the hand of an assassin. If it appear that the deceased has died by suffocation or strangulation, the probabili-

ties for suicide are so greatly increased as, in the absence of other evidence, to justify a verdict. We shall have occasion again to examine the judicial value of statistical science.

M. Quetelet investigates the laws of human nature, under the form of determining the characteristics of the average man (*l'homme moyen*), a course very convenient for those who have made any advance in statistical science, but which requires some explanation to beginners and general readers. Let us first observe, that all men establish in their own minds a standard of human nature, that is, an abstract idea of average man, by which they measure not merely physical development, but also moral conduct and intellectual power. We have names for almost every deviation from this conventional standard; we speak of giants and dwarfs, who exceed or fall short of the average height, of fruitful and unfruitful marriages, of geniuses and blockheads, of excessive mortality in any particular year or district, though in most cases we have not accurately fixed the standard by which we determine these instances to be exceptions from the general laws of humanity. Now the object of Mr. Quetelet's book is to determine and fix this standard of judgment, to ascertain as far as practicable the laws of human nature from the cradle to the grave, and to direct attention to important points, that have been either wholly neglected or only partially investigated. Before going any further it is of some importance to observe, that the average man of one country in duration of life, enjoyment of comfort, mental development and countless other important particulars, may and does differ materially from the average man of another. Nay more, these representative abstractions will differ in localities at no great distance from each other, in an agricultural and manufacturing county, in town and country; in a city and its suburbs. It is obvious that, by comparing the averages of different localities, we can at once determine which demands the preference, and that we are placed in a position for examining the causes of the superiority of the one and the degradation of the other. Until, however, these standards be ascertained, it is just as obvious that all reasoning on the subject must be vague and inconclusive. A striking example of this simple truth has been recently exhibited in our own country; some years ago, the sufferings of the factory operatives, and their physical and moral wretchedness, were pictured with great force of eloquence in both houses of parliament and in the columns of several leading journals; British humanity—and Britain has a very abundant stock of the article, and a still more copious supply of its spurious imitations—was appealed to; and we were not far from being persuaded that our manufacturing supremacy was a national curse, calamity,

and disgrace. The operatives took advantage of this popular clamour: they hoped by its means to diminish the use of machinery and the employment of children in factories, and as a consequence to secure for themselves higher wages. It is scarcely necessary, in the present state of economic science, to turn aside from our immediate object, and show that the success of the operatives would have been ruinous to their own interests; the results of machinery are too well understood by all, except those whom the stream of time has left stranded on the beach to gaze in stupid wonder on the current that rolls by. The manufacturers answered the charges made against them by an appeal to incontrovertible facts, the tables of mortality, the records of hospitals and police-offices, the registers of parishes and courts of justice; but there are still people in the world, who prefer the figures of speech to the figures of arithmetic, and the rules of Longinus to those of Cocker. Pathetic tales, more than sufficient to supply a whole generation of novelists, prevailed over a dull, dry parade of stupid figures, and a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine the state of our manufacturing population. The Report is now open before us, and, with the exception of the memorable Report on the silk trade, in which six lines from the Committee are the prelude to one thousand pages of opposing statements and contradictory evidence, we never beheld so extraordinary a result from the labours of sane men. It was scarcely contended that mortality was increased by factory employment, but it was strenuously asserted that life was rendered a burden, and that Coleridge's daring personification of "Life in Death," in his "Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner," was but a faint and feeble image of life in manufactories. Finally, the Committee came to a conclusion in which nothing was concluded, and a commission was issued to investigate the subject. The extraordinary merits of the reports produced by the Factory Commissioners, documents in which the exactness of science is for the first time fully proved to be the only guide for enlightened humanity and really useful charity, state-papers that are an honour to our age and country, lead us to forgive, and almost forget, the series of absurdities which caused their production, and which they effectively counteracted. We extract one table from these invaluable Reports; it decisively settles the question of the effect of factory labour on the health of children, tested by the best attainable standard, growth in size and weight: it is however to be regretted, that relative strength, tested by the dynamometer, was not also examined, for this is one of the surest measures of the effects produced by an injurious occupation.

Comparative average Age and Weight of Children employed in Factories and engaged in other Avocations.

Age.	Factory Children.				Non-Factory Children.			
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.	
	Weight, lbs.	Size, inches.	Weight, lbs.	Size, inches.	Weight, lbs.	Size, inches.	Weight, lbs.	Size, inch.
9	51·76	48·139	51·13	47·970	53·26	48·564	50·44	48·438
10	57·00	49·789	54·80	49·624	60·28	50·650	54·44	49·371
11	61·84	51·261	59·69	51·155	58·36	51·005	61·13	52·099
12	65·97	53·380	66·08	53·703	67·25	52·962	66·07	53·666
13	72·11	54·477	73·25	55·636	75·36	54·977	72·72	55·069
14	77·09	56·585	83·41	57·745	78·68	56·625	83·43	58·226
15	88·35	59·638	87·86	58·503	86·83	58·020	93·61	59·153
16	98·00	61·600	96·22	59·811	110·30	63·201	91·16	58·083
17	104·46	62·673	100·21	60·413	117·80	64·068	102·44	60·708
18	106·13	63·318	106·35	62·721	126·30	69·891	122·00	64·750

Average in weight of an equal number of males and females of all the above ages, from nine to seventeen, inclusive.

	lbs.		lbs.
Boys employed in factories	75·175	Girls employed in factories	74·739
Non-factory boys	78·680	Non-factory girls	75·049

Average in size of an equal number of males and females of all the above ages, from nine to seventeen, inclusive.

	lbs.		lbs.
Boys employed in factories	55·282	Girls employed in factories	54·951
Non-factory boys	55·563	Non-factory girls	54·971

Numbers weighed and measured for preparing the above table.

Factory boys	410	Non-factory boys	227
Factory girls	652	Nonfactory girls	201

Leaving now these more general views of statistics, we shall go lightly through some of the principal laws of human nature from birth to death examined by M. Quetelet, dwelling at length only on those which require to be more thoroughly investigated, or have too immediate a bearing on the general interests of society to be dismissed lightly.

Many curious and important questions are connected with the facts of births and fecundity of marriages. It appears that more boys are born than girls in the proportion of about 105 to 100, and that this proportion is rather greater in legitimate than illegi-

timate births.* It appears, also, that this excess of male births is slightly, if at all, varied by climate; but that it varies considerably in relation to the comparative ages of the parents. We have vainly sought for documents to scrutinize this law; Professor Hofacker in Germany, and Mr. Sadler in this country, have examined the subject, and arrived at very nearly the same results. The professor, however, confesses that he could obtain only a limited number of observations, and Mr. Sadler had no document but Debrett's Peerage. We quote Professor Hofacker's table, with the hope that it may attract the notice of medical men and induce them to keep a record of their observations.

Age of the Husband.	Age of the Wife.	Number of Boys born for every 100 girls.
The husband is younger	than the wife	90·6
The husband is the same age ..	as the wife	90·0
The husband is older	by from 3 to 6 years	103·4
Do. do.	by from 6 to 9 years	124·7
Do. do.	by from 9 to 18 years	143·7
Do. do.	by 18 years and upwards	200·0
The husband's age is between 24 and 36	the wife's between 16 and 26 ..	116·6
Do. do.	the wife's between 36 and 46 ..	95·4
The husband's age is between 36 and 48	the wife is younger	176·9
Do. do.	the wife is of middle age	114·3
Do. do.	the wife is older	109·2
The husband's age is between 48 and 60	the wife of middle age	190·0

With regard to fecundity of marriages, we shall simply extract M. Quetelet's general results, without comment.

"1. Precocious marriages cause more or less sterility, and produce children with less than the ordinary chances of life.

"2. Marriages that are not barren produce the same number of children whatever be the age at which they take place, provided that this age does not exceed about thirty-three years for the husband, and twenty-six for the wife; after which period the productiveness of the parties diminishes.

"3. The most productive marriages are those in which the husband is as old or a little older than the wife."

To these we may add a new statistical law, first announced by Mr. Woronzow Greg in his Report on the Social Statistics of the

* The equality of the sexes seems to be subsequently restored by the greater average mortality of male infants.

Netherlands, read at the recent meeting of the British Association in Dublin.

"We now come to notice one proportion, discovered by my brother and myself, some years ago, which is so constant, as almost to entitle it to the appellation of a general law, though the *modus operandi* is not easy to conjecture. *The proportion of births to a marriage* (cipher of fecundity) *appears to vary inversely as the proportion of marriages to the population* (cipher of marriage).

Provinces.	Cipher of fecundity.	Cipher of marriage.	Provinces.	Cipher of fecundity.	Cipher of marriage.
Limbourg.....	3·09	90·3	W. Flanders	5·01	137·7
N. Holland, &c. ..	4·50	104·4	Namur	5·06	150·9
Overyssel.....	4·60	121·9	N. Brabant	5·14	150·0
Antwerp	4·65	142·9	Groningen	5·17	149·3
Drenthe	4·69	130·3	Liege	5·33	154·1
S. Holland	4·74	113·3	Luxembourg	5·37	149·9
Guelderland.....	4·75	131·1	S. Brabant	5·45	142·2
Utrecht	4·86	118·2	Zealand	5·49	113·7
Hainault	4·98	136·5	Friesland	5·75	128·7
			E. Flanders	5·82	165·3
Average	4·54	121·0	Average	5·36	144·2

"The same inverse proportion is observable in the eighty-six departments of France; a synopsis of which is here given, for the sake of brevity.

In the Departments of France where the Cipher of Marriage is				The Cipher of fecundity is
Under			112	2·55
From	112	to	130	3·88
	130	..	140	4·18
	140	..	150	4·35
	150	..	160	4·43
	160	..	170	4·48
	170		....	4·82

"In the counties of England the same result obtains, thus:—

ENGLAND.

In Counties where the Cipher of Marriage is				The Cipher of fecundity is
Under			120	3·19
From	120	to	130	3·96
	130	..	140	3·87
	140	..	150	4·03
	150	..	160	4·41
	160	..	170	4·50
	170	..	.. ....	4·97

M. Quetelet next proceeds to investigate the influence of climate, season, the hour of the day, &c., and the preventive checks resulting from the density of population, and the ratio of mortality. These and many similar heads of inquiry, we reluctantly pass over, because to examine them efficiently would demand more space than we can devote to the author's entire work. To those who feel an interest in this department of statistical science, we particularly recommend the chapter on still-born children; but we cannot quit it without quoting a gratifying proof of the rapid advance of obstetrical knowledge, taken from Hawkins' Elements of Medical Statistics. In the Lying-in Hospital of London, where nearly 5000 patients are received annually, the following changes have taken place in the ratio of mortality:—

Years.	Proportion of Deaths among the Mothers.	Proportion of Deaths among the Children.
From 1749 to 1758	1 in 42	1 in 15
—— 1759 — 1768	1 — 50	1 — 20
—— 1769 — 1778	1 — 55	1 — 42
—— 1779 — 1788	1 — 60	1 — 44
—— 1789 — 1798	1 — 288	1 — 77

During the last period the mortality of mothers at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris was 1 in 15 for mothers, almost twenty times greater than that of London.

The subjects of mortality and population occupy the remainder of M. Quetelet's first volume. We shall only point out a few of his results. The influence of place on mortality proves that cold climates are more favourable to life than warm climates.

" In the north of Europe there is 1 death for 41·1 inhabitants.
In the centre ..... 1 .... 40·8
In the south ..... 1 .... 33·7
At Batavia (lat. 6° 10′) .... 1 .... 26."

The difference between the mortality of cities and the country is sufficiently marked in Belgium. There were

" In the cities .. 1 death for every 36·9 inhabitants.
In the country, 1 ..... 46·9." *

* We cannot satisfactorily ascertain this difference in England; the rate of mortality, however, for London and Glasgow differs but slightly from that for the country parts of Belgium. There is in London 1 death for 46·0 inhabitants; in Glasgow, 1 for 46·8.

It is remarked that great fecundity is always accompanied by great mortality. England, the republic of Guanaxuato in Mexico, the two extremes in the scale of population, exhibit this very forcibly.

States.	Proportion of Inhabitants		
	To a Marriage.	To a Birth.	To a Death.
In England	134·00	35·00	58·00
In the Republic of Guanaxuato..	69·76	16·08	19·70

But in this estimate it must be observed that the fecundity of the population is a very different thing from the fecundity of marriages. In fact, a great mortality must diminish the fecundity of marriages, by lessening their duration and increasing the number of second and third nuptials. The influence of sex on mortality is very marked at different ages; it is even appreciable before birth, the number of still-born males to that of females being in the proportion of about 3 to 2; the number of deaths during the first two months of life is as 4 to 3; in the third, fourth and fifth months as 5 to 4; thenceforward the difference gradually diminishes, and about the tenth month wholly disappears.* Between the ages of 14 and 18 the mortality of females is sensibly greater than that of males; from 21 to 26 the direct contrary is observed; from 26 to 50, female mortality exceeds male, and the difference is greater in the country than in the towns;† from 50 upwards the mortality of both sexes is nearly alike.

Age is the circumstance that most remarkably modifies the law of mortality, as may be seen by the inspection of our ordinary tables of life.‡ The age of five years is that in which the probable duration of life is greatest; the mortality of infancy is excessive.§ M. Quetelet calculates the following number of deaths

* It must be borne in mind that the excess of male over female births is not, taken alone, sufficient to account for this disparity of mortality, the proportion between male and female births being only about as 20 to 19.

† There is an obvious cause for this disparity in the fact that women in the towns do not, during pregnancy, engage in such laborious tasks as women in the country.

‡ We have already complained of the inaccuracy of our ordinary life-tables, but we have been just informed that an eminent statistician is engaged in preparing a new series of tables, in which the distinctions of profession, place, sex, &c. will be carefully preserved.

§ M. Quetelet attributes no small portion of this mortality to infant baptism, but we think he estimates too highly the injurious effects of exposure in a cold church, and the infant's fright, especially in English cities, where the churches are well warmed.

out of 10,000 births for the accompanying four classes of infants under one year of age.

Out of 10,000 male children born in the city .. 2574 die in the first year.
Ditto. ..... born in the country, 2425
Ditto. female children born in the city .. 2068
Ditto. ..... born in the country, 1999
Average deaths among 10,000 children ..... 2266 in the first year.

In fact, one-tenth of the infants that enter the world die in the first month. We trust soon to have an opportunity afforded us of scrutinizing this subject more closely by the publication of M. Villermè's long expected work,* and we therefore pass over the less important influences that modify mortality, and the many disputable questions connected with the general laws of population.†

In his second volume M. Quetelet commences by estimating the development of size, weight, and force. We have already shown the important bearing of the first two elements on a vital political question; it is easy to show that they may be turned to a very profitable account in medical jurisprudence. There are countless occasions on which it would be of the utmost importance to determine the age of an individual by physical qualities; but science as yet does not furnish us with any such resource, but leaves us in most cases to a frightful empiricism.

"When a physician is called upon to examine the body of a child found dead, and from simple inspection states the probable age of the infant, it is manifest that no element exists for the verification of his opinion, however erroneous it may be. If, on the contrary, to his estimation of the age were appended the size and weight of the body, and some other physical characteristics capable of direct measurement, and if we had besides exact tables of the cipher of these physical characters for different ages, and the limits of their variations for children regularly formed, not only would the physician's opinion be susceptible of verification, but it would scarcely be required if the elements of verification admitted of great exactness. Such approximations (supposing perfect certainty unattainable) ought not to be rejected in legal medicine, since they tend to substitute precise characters and exact data for the vague and frequently erroneous guesses of empiricism."

The investigations on the intensity of force at different ages, the quickness of the pulse, the number of inspirations, speed in

However, we happen to know three families, all very large, indeed together amounting to twenty-nine, parents not included, in which, from such notion, it was customary not to have the children baptized before they were three years old, and out of this number only one died in infancy.

* Its title is "Des Lois de la Population, ou Rapport de la Médecine avec l'Economie politique." We understand that it is nearly through the press.

† The fierce controversies that have raged on most of these points afford a sufficient reason for omitting their discussion in a merely general view of statistical science.

walking or running, height and distance in leaping, &c., point to some very singular conclusions; but the observations are not sufficiently numerous to establish a definite result. Mr. Babbage, at the meeting of the British Association in Cambridge, dwelt very strongly upon the great advantages that would result from constructing tables of *Constants* for all that is measurable in the different kingdoms of Nature.

M. Quetelet has endeavoured to supply the portion of that gigantic plan which relates to the measureable qualities of man. There are, however, many important matters which yet are wholly untouched. In a conversation on the subject of these Constants with Mr. Babbage, at the recent meeting in Dublin, he stated to us, as he had previously done to M. Quetelet, that he had often minuted several human actions, for instance, how many steps a man takes in a minute; how many strokes of an oar a sailor makes; how many blows of a hammer a smith gives; how many stitches a tailor puts in a piece of cloth; and that he had found these numbers little liable to variation. We have to a very limited extent repeated these observations with precisely the same result. In the course of the investigation, we found that the uniformity of the sound of the hammers in a forge produced a species of harmony to the ear; just as, when we recline by a mountain-brook fretting and dashing over countless obstacles, the separate sounds come at first confused on the ear, but, after a time, from their regularity, melt into one tone of soothing melody. It would be highly interesting to continue these observations, and also to determine whether they have any and what relations to sex, age, pulsations, inspirations, and other physical attributes.

The determination of the average man in his moral and intellectual character is beset with difficulties that at first sight seem insuperable. We have a unit of measurement for size and weight; we have the dynamometer to estimate strength; but where is the standard for determining courage, virtue, memory, or genius? May we not, however, approximate to correctness by diligently registering the effects? Suppose that the aggregate of certain crimes in one community is as 1 to 10,000 of the population, and the aggregate of crimes in another community is as 1 to 5000 of the population, have we not here some means of judging their relative tendency to that particular crime? Again, let there be two boys at school, one of whom can learn by rote a certain number of lines in half an hour, while another will require three hours to master the same task, have we not data for estimating their relative quickness? And if one has lost the remembrance of these lines at the end of a month, while the other retains them to the end of a year, cannot we institute a comparison between the relative tenacity of their memories?

And here we cannot forbear making an important psychological remark suggested by a long course of observations made by ourselves and others on the education of the memory. Quickness and tenacity of memory are essentially different qualities, and neither of them is identical with the still more valuable quality, readiness of memory. The habit of getting by rote is easily acquired by practice, but its utility is not merely questionable, its excessive cultivation is positively injurious. Few persons can have seen much of a university education without discovering that what are called "crammed men," who have imbibed from tutors a fixed amount of knowledge to gain a particular honour, or pass a particular examination, generally forget as fast as they have acquired, and in a few years appear as if they had never learned. Tenacity of memory is a much more valuable acquirement, but even this, when merely verbal, is more injurious than serviceable. We knew an instance of a student, who actually learned the six books of Euclid by heart, though he could not tell the difference between an angle and a triangle. This was discovered by accident; one of his plates was missing while he was under examination; his examiner drew a figure, and placed the letters in a different order from that to which he had been accustomed, and the poor youth was completely at a stand-still. Readiness of memory, like quickness and tenacity, may be greatly improved, if not acquired, by practice. Repeated interrogatories, judiciously worded, form the entire secret of the educational art; but schoolmasters in general find it much easier passively to hear a task, than to muster up as much intellectual energy as is necessary to ask a question.

This is not a digression from our subject, on the contrary it shows the vast importance of statistical inquiries in the important science of education—a science, by the way, at a lower ebb in England than in any other civilized nation on the earth.

The most important question in moral statistics is the law of the tendency to crimes, and the causes by which it is modified. M. Quetelet especially examines the influence of seasons, climate, sex, and age, and shows that these do produce variations of considerable amount. But there is a preliminary difficulty urged by M. Alphonse de Candolle, which we do not think has been satisfactorily obviated; all reasoning respecting the statistics of crime are based upon a certain number brought under the cognizance of the law, which, however, form only an indefinite part of all the crimes committed. M. Quetelet answers, that the discovered crimes in any country bear a tolerably definite proportion to the entire number of crimes committed, and thinks that this is proved by the astonishing constancy with which the same, or nearly the

same, numbers are reproduced annually in the returns of crime. Now, though this regularity is very striking in the criminal registers of France and Belgium, as may be seen in the table of murders quoted at the commencement of this article, the English returns present no such uniformity, as will appear from the following table:—

Return of Committals for Crime in England and Wales.
(From Marshall's Statistical Tables.)

Years....	1824.	1825.	1826.	1827.	1828.	1829.	1830.	1831.
Larceny	10,526	11,147	12,478	13,380	11,300	13,885	13,399	13,698
Burglary	460	428	478	572	249	171	155	152
Highway-Robbery .	258	189	307	381	314	299	301	573
Arson	28	22	17	14	14	37	45	10
Murder	73	94	57	65	83	47	65	57
Offences against Game Laws ..	178	151	182	284	366	230	141	105
Total of Committals	13,698	14,437	16,164	17,921	16,564	18,675	18,107	19,647
No bill found.....	1,662	1,685	1,786	1,950	1,672	1,800	1,832	2,094
Acquitted	2,611	2,788	3,271	3,407	3,169	3,614	3,470	3,723
Convicted	9,425	9,664	11,107	12,564	11,723	13,261	12,805	13,830
Sentenced to Death	1,017	986	1,146	1,456	1,086	1,311	1,351	1,549
Executed	49	50	57	70	79	74	46	52

We have quoted only a portion of these returns, because this is sufficient to show either that the recurrence of crimes in England is more variable than in France or Belgium, or that our registers are less exact. The latter appears to be in some measure the case, for there is a greater approach to uniformity in the last three years. The British islands are, however, subjected to a cause of perturbation from which France and Belgium are exempt—the administration of justice by an unpaid magistracy. Facility of communication, and the reports of cases in the public journals, are fast producing uniformity in England and Wales; but in Ireland the executive varies in every county, and almost in every parish. We could name more than one instance in which the criminal calendar, heaviest in the kind and number of offences, proved to be the lightest when scrutinized at the assizes; but we only refer to the subject for the purpose of warning statisticians to examine beyond the simple facts stated in the returns, when they institute comparisons between the amount of crimes in different districts.

But a much more important question remains yet to be discussed—the effect of education on the tendency to crime. "It is now," says a writer in a popular periodical, "established by decisive evidence, that public instruction not only has no effect whatever in diminishing the tendency to crime, but that it greatly increases it." The chief foundation for this strange assertion is of course M. Guerry's celebrated work on the Moral Statistics of

France. He proves indisputably that there are most crimes against property in the departments where there is most public instruction; but he does not add that these are also the wealthiest portions of France. Of course there will be most crimes against property where there are most temptations and opportunities for their commission. To deduce any argument from the concomitancy of crime and instruction appears to us not very unlike the argument of the preacher, who tried to demonstrate the wisdom of Providence from the fact that large rivers always flow near large towns.

A more difficult objection to the diffusion of education is furnished in the following extract from a Report made to the Middlesex Magistrates by the Chaplain of Coldbath Fields Prison:

"As to the capabilities of prisoners to receive instruction, the chaplain, desirous of ascertaining on certain data what capabilities prisoners possessed of acquiring religious and moral instruction to counteract the demoralizing influence with which they are surrounded, has inquired into the education of 967 prisoners individually, viz. 701 males, and 266 females, in this prison on the 20th of September last.

"The following result appears:—

Prisoners	 967	
Those uneducated, first imprisonment	 56	104
Ditto, imprisoned before	 48	
Those educated, first imprisonment	 646	863
Ditto, imprisoned before	 217	
Total, first imprisonment	 702	
Total, imprisoned before	 265	

"From this inquiry the chaplain draws his conclusion, that it is not the want of education, but the absence of principle, which leads to crime."

Before examining the validity of the worthy chaplain's conclusion, we must quote another document brought forward by the opponents of education.

Return of the Prisoners *in Glasgow Bridewell,*
From June, 1834, to June, 1835.

State of Education.	Scotch.			English.			Irish.			Foreign.			Total.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Can read and write..	76	32	108	13	..	15	9	1	10	..	..	..	98	33	131
Can read only	36	65	101	3	2	5	25	9	34	2	1	3	66	77	143
Can neither read nor write	9	18	27	2	..	2	12	10	22	1	..	1	24	28	52
Total	121	115	236	18	2	22	46	20	66	3	1	4	188	138	326

Before any inference could be deduced from these documents, we should first have accurately ascertained the proportion of the educated to the uneducated in the several populations; and, secondly, we should have some account of the amount and quality, as well as of the fact of education, or rather instruction. The Report of the Manchester Statistical Society's Committee on the State of Education in that Borough, affords abundant proof that the nature, extent, and efficacy of the instruction afforded, is not to be measured by the mere test of capability to write and read. We shall quote a few anecdotes to prove that, in all future educational inquiries, the qualifications of the masters must be investigated as well as the number of the pupils.

"In one of the seminaries of learning, where there were about 130 children, the noise and confusion was so great as to render the replies of the master to the inquiries put to him totally inaudible; he made several attempts to obtain silence, but without effect; at length, as a last effort, he ascended his desk, and striking it forcibly with a ruler, said in a strong Hibernian accent, 'I'll tell you what it is, boys, the first I hear make a noise, I'll call him up, and kill him entirely;' and then, perceiving probably on the countenance of his visitor some expression of dismay at this murderous threat, he added quickly, in a more subdued tone, 'almost I will.' His menace produced no more effect than his previous appeals had done. A dead silence succeeded for a minute or two; then the whispering recommenced, and the talking, shuffling of feet, and general disturbance, was soon as bad as ever. The master gave up the point, saying, as he descended from his desk, 'You see the brutes, there's no managing them.' The committee met with two instances of schools kept by masters of some abilities, but much given to drinking, who had, however, gained such a reputation in their neighbourhood, that, after spending a week or fortnight in this pastime, they could always fill their schoolrooms again as soon as they returned to their post. The children, during the absence of the masters, go to other schools for the week, or play in the streets, or are employed by their parents in running errands, &c. On another occasion, one of these instructors and guardians of the morals of our youth, was met issuing from his school-room, at the head of his scholars, to see a *fight* in the neighbourhood; and, instead of stopping to reply to any educational queries, only uttered a breathless invitation to come along and see the sport."

We should be very glad to know from the chaplain, who decided so flippantly on the inutility of education, if he had first inquired whether the persons he examined were really educated, or whether they had been merely instructed in reading and writing? It is manifest that it would be better for the pupils of such masters as those described in the Manchester Report, to have remained for ever without instruction, than to have been subjected to such authoritative contamination. Until some care be taken to give the same security by law for the health of the mind as is given for the health of the body; until schoolmasters

are subjected to at least as rigid a scrutiny as apothecaries; it is perfect nonsense to talk of education having failed to check the progress of crime in England.

But we can even now statistically prove the beneficial effects of education, where the primary schools are under the superintendence of a minister of public instruction, which is always a guarantee for their being more usefully conducted, than when left to the superintendence of a master or of voluntary subscribers. Mr. Gregg, in the admirable Report to which we have more than once referred, has classed the provinces of the Netherlands in four divisions proportionate to their relative amount of education. We shall quote his comments as well as his table—they are equally instructive and encouraging.

Provinces.	Per centage of the Population at School.		Inhabitants for every Murder, Rape, or Violent Assault.
" In the 5 first provinces, where	13.9	..	52.960
5 next.....	11.5	..	43.380
3 next.....	10.3	..	31.700
4 last.....	7.9	..	20.720

" Thus we *do* find, that, where the greatest quantum of education exists, the more heinous crimes of violence diminish in frequency. Upon crimes of fraud I should doubt any effect being produced, (appreciable by similar tables,) as the causes of these depend often less on the individual, if we may so speak, than on the circumstances by which he is surrounded.

" The fairest and most satisfactory mode, however, of ascertaining the effect of education in diminishing crime is to ascertain the proportion of offenders who have received instruction. M. Guerry thinks that even in this way no accurate or gratifying result can be arrived at. Let us examine the state of matters in France, Belgium and America. The data for constructing the following table are taken from M. Quetelet and Dr. Lieber, and reduced to centesimal proportions.

Degree of Education.	France.		Proportion between the two kinds.	All Kinds of Criminals.		
	Criminals against Property.	Criminals against Person.		France.	Belgium.	America.
None	616	583	3.2	610	610	256
Very imperfect	262	282	2.8	266	150	551
Decent	103	113	2.7	103	200	180
Superior.....	19	22	2.6	21	40	13
Total	1000	1000		1000	1000	1000

"Two conclusions are to be drawn from this table, which has been constructed with the greatest care: *First*, that 81 per cent. of the crimes are committed by persons having received no education or a very imperfect one; and only 19 per cent. by those having had the benefit of a decent or a superior one.

"*Secondly*, The fourth column shows the number of crimes against property for one against the person, among each division of criminals. From this it appears that the best educated commit, *proportionally*, more crimes of violence than of fraud. This is natural, inasmuch as, while their *passions* are equally strong, their temptations to theft are incomparably less than those of the ignorant, who are generally also the poor." —pp. 26, 27.

We have now examined a few of M. Quetelet's investigations into the physical, intellectual, and moral developments of human nature. Much that is valuable, and much that is curious, we have been reluctantly compelled to pass over; compelled by the abundance of his materials to make a selection, we have chosen as specimens those topics in statistical science which are of most pressing and immediate interest. Our great object has been to show the vast importance of statistical research nationally and individually, to gain a new hearing in the cause—"the figures of arithmetic *versus* the figures of speech." In the course of our observations we have had to censure, more in sorrow than in anger, the great neglect of statistical science in these kingdoms; but we must add that in this, as in many other departments of knowledge, we see the dawn of a better day. To say nothing of the valuable tables compiled by Finlayson, Rickman and Marshall, with industry that may well excite wonder, and skill above all praise, we may refer to many admirable statistical papers in the Spectator, but, above all, to the Ordnance Survey now in progress in Ireland, a copy of which was laid before the British Association at its recent meeting in Dublin. In moving that the thanks of that body should be given to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant for having sent the copies, Mr. Babbage, with equal truth and justice, declared that "the gentlemen engaged in its preparation had earned a right to the lasting gratitude of their countrymen as national benefactors." In this truly national work we have an accurate account of all that is performed by man, or produced by nature, within the geographical limits of Ireland; it will, when complete, be an invaluable record of the country's resources, and, at the same time, will show how they may be developed so as to promote the best interests of society.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

No. XXX.

BELGIUM.

The first volume of the History of Flanders, and its civil and political institutions to the year 1305, by Professor Warnkœnig, is just published.

M. Duvasme-Pletinckx has announced for publication a complete collection of the works of Rubens, in lithographic plates. It will contain at least 1500 works of that great artist.

A Royal Society of Sciences has been established at Antwerp, and, though it has existed only six months, it already boasts of many eminent names of foreign literati among its members, such as Alex. von Humboldt, Charles Dupin, Dr. Pariset, Alexander de la Borde, De Candolle, Magendie, Hufeland, &c. &c.

M. Joly, a Belgian, has written a Play, called "Jacques Artevelde," which has been performed with great success, and is highly spoken of by the Belgian journals.

The Royal Commission for collecting the Chronicles and Histories of Belgium held a meeting on the 20th of August. M. Gachard, the Secretary, communicated much interesting information. He had been sent by the Minister of the Interior to Dusseldorf to examine the Archives of that city, which were known to contain many manuscripts relative to the History of the Belgic provinces. His mission was successful beyond his expectation. M. Lacomblet, keeper of the Archives, not only assisted in examining the documents to which his attention had been directed, but communicated many others of great importance relative to the history of Belgium. There are even some that regard English history.

As connected with literature, it may be interesting to some of our readers to be informed of a remarkable sale of the splendid and valuable collection of the late Count de Rinesse Breidbach, which was to commence at Antwerp on the 1st of October, for the first part, and on the 16th of May, 1836, for the second portion. This second portion contains 50,000 medals and coins, ancient and modern; with a library of 700 works on numismatology; a collection of antiquities, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Celtic, German, &c.; another of antiquities of the middle ages; a collection of 4000 diplomas, 400 seals, and 10,000 prints,—many of them are extremely rare and curious.

M. Serrure, keeper of the archives of East Flanders, has translated from the Flemish, "Le Jeu d'Esmorée, fils du Roi de Sicile." This he maintains to be the oldest drama of the grave kind; and it belongs to the most brilliant period of the older Flemish poetry, that is to say, the first half of the fourteenth century.

DENMARK.

The following is extracted from the annual report of the proceedings of the Society of Northern Archæology at Copenhagen, 1834—1835. Professor Schlegel, the President, at the meeting on the 31st of January, gave a general view of the proceedings and affairs of the Society during the last year. Conformably to its chief object, that of publishing ancient Icelandic and other Northern writings, the Society has printed, in the course of the year, *Fornmanna Saga, No.* 9, and *Oldnordiska Saga, No.* 9, containing, the first in the original Icelandic, the second in a Danish translation, the Sagas, (or Chronicles,) of the Norwegian kings Hakon Sverrison, Guttorm Sigurson, and Ingi Bardson, with the Saga of Hakon Hakonson, to the death of Duke Skuli; or the period from 1184 to 1240. The following will be shortly published, "Fornmanna Saga, No. 10," "Oldnordiska Saga, No. 10," and "Scripta Historica Islandorum, vol. vi. and vii.; the first two of which will contain the conclusion of the Royal Sagas in Icelandic and Danish; the two last, (which are ready for the press,) the history of the Norwegian Kings from Magnus the Good to Magnus Erlingson, in a Latin translation.

The Society resolved in 1831 to use all the means in its power to clear up the ancient history of Greenland, and especially, if possible, to determine with certainty the site of the old European settlement, Eystribygd, and of the Episcopal See of Gardar, which flourished there for many centuries. With this view, the Society resolved to have excavations and researches made, especially in the district of Julianehaab and on the coast of Davis's Straits. These operations were commenced in 1832, and were continued in 1833 and 1834. Much interesting information has already been obtained. The Society also resolved to publish in a separate work, "on the Historical Monuments of Greenland," as complete a collection as possible of the accounts of Greenland, contained in the ancient Icelandic historical books. The printing of this work, as well as of another accompanied with a Latin translation, "on the Voyages of Discovery to America, undertaken by the old inhabitants of the North," has been continued this year. Captain Graah has constructed for this collection, from his own surveys, a special map of the district of Julianehaab, which is now in the hands of the engraver.

The Museum of Northern Antiquities has received many valuable additions during the last year. The third volume of the Archæological Journal of the society has been printed. The society has also printed a German translation of several of its most interesting articles, illustrated with numerous plates; but only for the German members of the society.

Professor Olshausen of Kiel has announced that the family of the celebrated Carsten Niebuhr are now preparing, after a lapse of so many years, to publish the third volume of his Travels in Arabia.

FRANCE.

In the last Number of this Journal, we gave a brief account of the great works relative to the national history of France, either projected or already commenced. We have now to advert to a new society, the nature and gigantic plans of which merit a far more extended notice than our limits will here allow us to give, but to which we shall doubtless have occasion frequently to recur. Within the last ten years a new era has commenced in the study and composition of history. Everywhere, and in all the sciences, the historical

features are the most prominent; historical schools predominate in philosophy and jurisprudence; systems and reasonings give way to pragmatic developments; poetry (including romance) draws its materials from history, and the historian admits into his narrative more and more of the elements of poetry. The intellectual and moral history of mankind is more and more blended with the political: the history of the sciences and arts, of the ideas, the opinions, the domestic manners of nations, everywhere accompanies that of empires, kings, and generals. This conviction has given rise in different countries to associations in one and the same historical undertaking, such, for instance, as that under the direction of Uckert and Heeren in Germany. This too has given rise to the society established about sixteen months ago under the title of *Institut Historique*, which has become so extensive, has so many proofs of its activity to produce, and is about to execute such vast plans, that it is high time to call the attention of the learned world to it. The number of the members is about 800, of whom one half are Frenchmen, the others natives of almost all countries. Among the French members are Chateaubriand, Reinhard, the Dukes of Broglie, Doudeauville, and Montmorency, Messrs. de Fizensac, Choiseul, Noailles, the Academicians, Michelet, Carnot, Destutt de Tracy, Lamartine, Bory de St. Vincent, G. Saint Hilaire, &c. &c. The historians, such as Thierry, Daru, Capefigue, Barante, of course belong to it. The *Journal de l'Institut historique* began in August last year, and appears regularly in monthly numbers of four sheets. Its chief value, as far as France is concerned, is, that it is the first example in that country of independent criticism. The second undertaking of the society is the *Annuaire de l'Institut historique*, which is composed by a committee of thirty members, and the first annual volume of which will appear in January, 1836, and contain the political and scientific history of Europe for 1835. Another committee is engaged on a *Manuel diplomatique*. The commencement of a more intimate personal acquaintance between the European historians is to take place on the 15th of November, for which day the *Institut historique* invites a great European historical congress to Paris, to which all the learned societies in Europe are requested to send deputies. This congress is to sit a fortnight, and questions are prepared in all the classes of the Institute, which are to be submitted to this congress. But the undertaking which is of the greatest importance to Europe, and is unparalleled both in its plan and the manner of its execution, is the *Dictionnaire de l'Institut historique*, which is intended to supersede all existing historical repertories, and is to be composed under the direction of an association of historians of all nations and countries. The plan is as follows:—The contents of the *Dictionnaire* will be exclusively historical; it will not go beyond the limits of this circle, which is itself so extensive, but it will embrace History completely and in all its phases, and comprehend equally Men, Events, and Things. By Things is understood whatever relates to the history of Science, Language, Art, to the development of human activity in Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce; and it will pay as much regard to the history of the manners and customs of nations, as to that of political events, which have hitherto been thought alone worthy of detailed notice. The number of the articles will of course be very great; but a simple classification will greatly lessen the labour, and prevent repetitions. The articles are of three kinds. Those of the third class are very short notices, often only larger definitions with reference to the greater articles. Those of the second class relate to Facts, Men, Ideas, remarkable historical Epochs. Those of the first class are devoted to Events and Men that changed the face of a great part of the world (Alexander, Charlemagne), to a great historical period (the Middle Ages), to a great aggregate of countries (Russia, India), to some important social relation (Islamism, Languages, &c.), or lastly to a

great class of Nations, or of Mankind in general (the Priesthood, Races). In general the articles relative to *Men* (*i. e.* individuals) will be much less numerous than those on *Events*, *Ideas*, and *Things*, otherwise history becomes biography. It is impossible to enter into details respecting the contents of this part of the work; the following are the prominent features:—1. Dynasties; 2. Great Historical Periods; 3. States, Provinces, Cities, and their History; 4. Confederations, Corporations, Religious and Military Orders; 5. Wars, Treaties of Peace, Conventions, Battles, Diplomacy; 6. Governments, Dignities, Offices; 7. Legislation, Laws, Customs, Codes; 8. Finances, Taxation, Loans, Money; 9. Manufactures, Commerce, Navigation, Mines, &c.; 10. Churches, Popes, Councils, Ecclesiastical administration, &c.; 11. Nobility, Third Estate, Peasantry, &c.; 12. Chivalry, Heraldry, Feudalism, Arms, Armies, Art of War; 13. Ordinary Life, Liberty, Personal Security, Habitation, Dress, Costumes, Fashions, Furniture, Luxury, Poverty, &c.; 14. Religions, Ceremonies, Festivals; 15. Monuments, Archæology, Cathedrals, &c.; 16. The Fine Arts; 17. Literary Activity, Printing, Progress of Philosophy, Theology, Sciences, Discoveries, &c.; 18. Sources and Documents, to facilitate the study of history. The extent of the work is calculated at forty volumes in large 8vo., each of thirty-two sheets, printed in double columns;* four volumes to be published every year. Such is a general, but very imperfect, outline of this great enterprise. A very remarkable circumstance is, that the Institute has resolved to commit the printing of the work to a German House, and commissioned a German member of the society to negociate that business with some eminent German firm. So extraordinary a sacrifice of French national pride seems to indicate that the French book-trade must be in a very different state from what it is generally supposed to be.

A new edition, being the sixth, of the Dictionary of the French Academy, in two 4to. volumes, is publishing by Messrs. Didot. This work, a monument of industry, erudition, and accuracy, such as no other European nation can boast of, is the result of thirty years' assiduous labour under the superintendence of the successive secretaries of the National Institute, Morellet, Suard, Raynouard, Auger, Andrieux, and Arnault. Besides these a permanent committee, consisting of six of the most eminent French philologists and lexicographers, was appointed to revise and consider the individual articles prepared by them: and, after undergoing this critical ordeal, all proposed additions, alterations, and explanations from beginning to end were carefully considered and discussed at the general meetings of the Academy. Thus a single word, for example, *liberté*, *droit*, *constitution*, has frequently occupied a whole sitting; and this serves to show how the Academy could have been engaged for so long a period in the new edition of this national dictionary. To afford some idea of the scientific value and unimpeachable authority attaching to this work, we need only mention the names of the distinguished scholars and scientific men who have devoted their attention to its different departments:—1. In *Grammar*, *Poetry*, *Rhetoric*, &c., Andrieux, Jouy, Villemain, de Feletz, Campenon, Lacretelle, Etienne, Arnault, &c.; 2. In *Philosophy*, *Education*, *the Natural Sciences*, Cuvier, Raynouard, Cousin, Droz, Fourier, Biot, Thenard, &c.; 3. In *Jurisprudence*, *Political Economy*, *History*, *Politics*, *Diplomacy*, &c., Pastoret, Dupin, Royer-Collard, Segur, Daru, &c.; 5. In *Architecture*, *Painting*, *Music*, Huyot, Vaudoyer, Quatremère de Quincy, Guérin, Catel, Berton, &c.; 6. In *Nautical Affairs*, De Rosset, Admiral

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* It seems to us that these volumes (500 pages each) will be too small. Our Edinburgh Gazetteer of 50 sheets or 800 pages is by no means an inconvenient size.

Roussin, &c.; 7. In *The Military Sciences*, General Bartin; in *Mechanics*, Jourdan; in *Manufactures*, Rey, &c.

A great number of unpublished Letters by St. François de Sales, are about to appear. The Sardinian ambassador at Paris, Count de Sales, has caused them to be transmitted from Turin to the publisher of the collected works of St. François. There are 310 letters to princes and princesses of the House of Savoy, and other distinguished persons.

M. Paulin of Paris has commenced, by the title of *Edition pittoresque des Classiques français et étrangers*, a series of illustrated works, which can scarcely fail to become popular in other countries as well as in France. He commences with Gil Blas, which alone will contain five hundred designs of the most different kinds, executed by the best engravers of France. This will be followed by Molière's Plays, a new translation of Don Quixotte, Lafontaine's Fables, Orlando Furioso, &c. Molière will be accompanied by 600 illustrations, and the other works in the like proportion. The subscription price of the Gil Blas, with its 500 plates and cuts, is no more than 12 francs.

In France, considerable attention is paid to the reprinting of the early French and Norman literature. M. Francisque Michel has published a report of his researches in the English libraries. The minister has given orders for the printing of the long metrical Chronicle of Benoît de Sainte-More, to transcribe which M. Michel was first sent to England: it will, we believe, be edited by M. Michel, and form two volumes in 4to. M. Michel is also printing the Romance of Roncevaux from the very early MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. At Rouen, Frere, the publisher of Wace's *Roman de la Rose*, is now printing the *Brut* of the same poet, and he has also in the press a collection of original and unpublished documents relating to the conquest of England by the Normans, in two vols. 8vo. edited by M. Michel.

In the 13th volume of the *Notices des Manuscrits*, M. Raynouard will give an abstract of a curious and hitherto unknown romance, in Provençal verse, preserved in a manuscript of the library of Carcassonne, to which he has given the title of "Flamenca," the name of the heroine, as it is imperfect at the beginning and end, and has no title in the MS. We regret to say, that this venerable scholar has been lately much afflicted with illness, which we fear will retard the progress of his great Dictionary of the Provençal and other dialects that have sprung from the Latin.

The Minister of Public Instruction has proposed a report to the King to have a new *Codex medicamentarius* composed by a certain number of members of the Royal Academy of Medicine. The King approved the plan.

The first volume of a translation, to be completed in five volumes, of Count Toreno's History of the Insurrection, of the War, and of the Revolution of Spain, on which he employed the many years of his exile, is just published.

GERMANY.

The German journals mention it as an extraordinary circumstance that the Grand Duke of Hesse has granted to Captain Ross an exclusive privilege, for twelve years, for the sale in his dominions of the Narrative of his last Voyage

in the English language, and also for the German translation of it made with his concurrence.

Macken of Reutlingen has announced a work on Greece, by Dr. J. W. Gess, entitled "Ancient and Modern Greece," in an 8vo. volume, with 74 illustrations.

The house of Grimmer of Dresden is preparing for publication, in numbers, a series of engravings on steel and copper representing the most remarkable productions of the fine arts and curiosities in the royal collections, by the title of "The Museums of Dresden." The graphic department will be superintended by Mr. Frenzel, inspector of the royal gallery; and the illustrative descriptions will be furnished by several literati and connoisseurs.

The same house is also publishing, in monthly numbers, "Chronicles of the City of Dresden," by Dr. Klemm, librarian to the King of Saxony, illustrated by numerous engravings. The work will be completed in 36 numbers, each containing two plates and two sheets of text.

Scheible of Leipzig is about to publish in six or eight parts, forming, when complete, a thick 8vo. volume, "Martin Luther, his Life and Works," by Dr. C. F. G. Stang, with 7 engravings on steel. The same bookseller is publishing, in the same form, "The Thirty Years' War and its Heroes," by Dr. C. A. Mebold, with six steel engravings. He announces, also, the speedy conclusion of Ernst Münch's "History of the Latest Times," by the publication of the second part of the sixth volume.

A small volume, by Mr. S. Matthies, has just appeared at Nürnberg, with the title of "Aeronautics in the highest Perfection, or Description of a new-invented and extremely simple Machine, which furnishes irrefragable proof that it is not only practicable for the Aeronaut to steer in any direction he pleases, but also that this will be actually accomplished within half-a-year."

M. von Hammer has concluded his admirable "History of the Ottoman Empire" with the tenth volume. The history itself finishes with the eighth, being brought down to the Peace of Kainardji. The ninth and tenth are occupied with valuable documents. The same distinguished author promises a "History of Ottoman Poetry," which will include specimens of the works of two thousand poets.

Dr. Carus, eminent as a physician, a physiologist and a connoisseur, has produced a work of great interest in his "Tour through Germany, Italy and Switzerland," in two volumes. It contains the result of his observations made in 1828, on his travels in company with Prince Frederick, Co-Regent of Saxony.

Public opinion in Germany holds out little more encouragement to young aspirants for poetical distinction than it does in England; nay, there is such a shyness for everything like verse, that many of the principal booksellers will not publish any poetry. Every Leipzig fair, nevertheless, brings at least thirty collections of poems, the authors of which, so far from receiving payment for them, have frequently themselves to defray the expenses of printing.

Erhard, the bookseller of Stuttgart, announces that he is preparing to publish a "Translation from the Spanish of Toreno's History of Spain, from 1808 to 1823," in three volumes, 8vo.

The first volume of K. L. von Knebel's "Posthumous Works and Correspondence," prepared for the press by Messrs. Varnhagen von Ense and Th. Mundt, is just published. The work will be completed in three volumes before the end of the present year. The Correspondence contains letters from persons eminent for their rank, and also from many of the most distinguished writers of the last generation in Germany.

The house of Cotta, at Munich, has lately published engravings of the celebrated frieze by Thorwaldsen, representing the Entry of Alexander into Babylon, executed for the palace of the King of Denmark at Christiansborg. These plates, twenty-two in number, forming a volume in oblong folio, are engraved by Professor Amsler, after drawings by Fr. Overbeck, and the illustrative text which accompanies them is from the pen of Dr. Schorn.

The first volume of Dr. Flathe's "History of the Precursors of the Reformation," was published in the spring. The second was expected to appear about Michaelmas.

Dr. Gross-Hoffinger has published in an 8vo. volume, entitled "Leben, Wirken, und Tod des Kaisers," a very interesting sketch of the life and character of the late emperor of Austria. It is a tribute to the private and public virtues of the deceased monarch, and will be gratefully received by the millions who lived under his mild sway, and among whom (and they surely are the best judges) there is one universal sentiment of love and veneration. The work contains, also, an admirable view of the state of literature, manufactures and politics, in the Austrian empire. The publication of the "Life of the Emperor Joseph II." by the same author, is delayed, because he has thought it necessary to take a journey to Vienna, for the purpose of rendering it more complete.

HOLLAND.

Dr. Blume, author of the beautiful and scientific work "*Flora Javæ*," has announced for publication another work, under the title of "*Rumphia*, sive Commentationes Botanicæ, imprimis de plantis Indiæ Orientalis." The work is to consist of thirty-six numbers, each containing six plates, representing the rarest plants of the whole Indian Archipelago, from original drawings made on the spot by a skilful hand. The work will be in every respect a counterpart to the "*Flora Javæ*," so unfortunately interrupted at the thirty-fifth number by the insurrection in the Belgian provinces. The subscribers to that great work, and the lovers of botany in general, will be happy to learn, not only that the whole of the MS. is in the hands of the publishers, but that arrangements have been made for publishing the remaining numbers.

By permission of the king, M. G. van Prinsterer has commenced the publication of "Archives, ou Correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange." It commences in the year 1552, and two volumes of the first series are published.

"The Trial of Constantine Polari," for stealing the jewels of the Princess of Orange, is published. The singularity of the robbery, the mystery in which it was long involved, the great value of the articles stolen, and the strange reports and whispered calumnies to which it gave rise, render it very interesting in Holland.

A Dutch translation of Göthe's "Theory of Colours," by M. Bakker Korff, has recently made its appearance.

ITALY.

The following works have been lately published at Rome:—"Monumenti Gabini della Villa Pinciana, descritti da Ennio Quirino Visconti: nuovamente publicati per cura del Dott. Giovanni Labus, 22 Tavole;" and "Monumenti scelti Borghesiani," by the same author.

At a time when the attention of the public and of foreign visitors has been so much excited by the great works for changing the course of the Anio and the famous cascade of Tivoli, Signor Santo Viola, already known as the author of several esteemed works, has published, very *à propos*, a most interesting work on the Anio, in which he has collected and arranged in epochs every thing relative to that river from the most remote antiquity to the present day. It is entitled "Chronica delle diversi vicende del Fiume Aniene in Tivoli, sino alla deviazione del medesimo nel traforo del Monti Catillo."

A volume has appeared at Milan with the title of "Semplice Verita; oppostu alle Mensogne de Enrico Misley nel suo Libello—' L'Italie sous la domination Autrichienne.'"—Plain Truth opposed to the Lies of Henry Misley.

"Scene Istoriche del Medio Evo d'Italia"—Historical Scenes of the Middle Ages in Italy—in an 8vo. volume, consists of four Tales, which are said to possess considerable merit.

At Naples there has lately been published "Della Procedura penale, nel Regno delle due Sicilie, esposta da Niccola Nicolini, dedicata alla Maestà del Ré N. S. Volumi Nove."

M. Azeglio, director of the Royal Gallery of Paintings at Turin, is publishing representations of the finest pictures in that collection, engraved by some of the most eminent Italian artists. The work will form eighty numbers, of four plates each, in folio. The illustrative text accompanying them will be furnished by M. Azeglio himself.

At Milan there have lately appeared translations of "Göthe's Faust and Wilhelm Meister," and of "Mendelsohn's Philosophy," the latter with notes, and a memoir of the life of the author, by Dr. Francesco Pizzetti.

PRUSSIA.

A remarkable circumstance has lately attracted the notice of the literary world. A bookseller in Switzerland applied to a man of letters in Berlin, informing him that he intended to translate into German a work published at Berlin in 1778, by the title of "Reflexions sur l'Etat des Affaires Publiques," and requested that inquiry might be made to discover who was the author. After a long investigation, it has been ascertained that the work was written by Elizabeth, Queen of Prussia, consort of Frederick the Great, who composed it at the palace of Schönhausen in the summer of 1777.

There appear in Prussia 288 newspapers, journals, monthly and weekly publications: 22 towns have political journals, 3 of which are published at Berlin, and 2 at Breslau.

Dr. Spieker has published a very interesting "Description and History of the Church of St. Mary at Frankfort on the Oder;" a contribution towards the history of the Church and the Reformation in the Mark of Brandenburg, in an 8vo. volume, with five plates.

A German translation of the "Correspondence of Field Marshal Suwaroff during the Campaign in Italy and Switzerland in 1799," by a Prussian officer, has appeared. The original was published in 1826 at St. Petersburg, by the emperor's command, in three volumes. The first volume of the Russian contains the history of the campaign, chiefly copied (often word for word) from the documents in the second and third volumes, and on the whole unsatisfactory and defective. The translator has confined his labours to the last two volumes, containing the official documents, letters, army reports, orders of the day, &c. which are highly interesting and important.

M. Ad. Stenzel, Secretary to the Historical and Geographical Section of the Silesian Patriotic Society, has just published "Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum," vol. i. part i. 4to. It contains four chronicles relative to the Polish-Silesian history.—1. The Chronica Lechitarum, from the remotest times to 1273.—2. A Breve Chronicon Silesiæ from two MSS.—3. The Chronica Principum Poloniæ.—4. A Catalogus Abbatum Saganiensium, which, however, is not a dry catalogue, but a circumstantial, valuable chronicle. This work is very highly spoken of, and appears to be of great value in throwing light on the history of Silesia. Nos. 1 and 3 have been printed before, but very incorrectly; Nos. 2 and 4 are from hitherto inedited MSS.

The third section of the "Map of the Moon," by Wilhelm Beer and J. H. Mudler, is published. The fourth section is completed, and is already (in August) in the hands of the engraver; so that, as it does not now depend on the weather, we may hope to have the whole map by the end of the year.

The late Baron von Humboldt, with the modesty which characterized him, gave to his great work on the Oceanic or Polynesian Languages, the fruit of immense research, the simple title "On the Kawi Language in the Island of Java." The work begins with an introduction "On the difference in the construction of Languages, and its influence on the intellectual development of the human race," which, as it is calculated to interest the learned world in general, will be published as a separate work, of about fifty sheets, and will appear in a few months.

A letter from Berlin, of the 23d July, states that Count Schilling von Kanstadt, Russian councillor of state, who was then in that capital, had brought from Tibet no fewer than 7,000 manuscripts; a thing which no former traveller has yet been able to effect. It was expected that some chests of these MSS., for the most part duplicates of those which he had left at St. Petersburg, would be purchased for the Royal Library.

RUSSIA.

The Journal de St. Petersburg, of 3 and 5 September, contains an extract from an Imperial Ukase, promulgating the regulations for the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Charkow and Casan. It consists of 9 chapters, and 169 articles. The universities are to consist of two or three faculties, viz. Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Medicine (the last only in Moscow, Charcow, and Casan). Divinity is not to form a separate faculty; but the lectures on divinity, ecclesiastical history and canon law, shall be attended by all the students of the Russian-Greek church. The Philosophical Faculty shall have two sections—1. Philosophy, Antiquities, History, Statistics.—2. Mathematics, Technology, Natural History. Each university to have a senate and a council of administration. The teachers are divided into professors, adjuncts, and lecturers. All the faculties are under the authority of a rector. The senate consists of the ordinary and extraordinary professors, the rector being president. The council of administration, in which the rector also presides, consists of the dean and the syndic. All the universities are called Imperial Universities, being under the especial patronage of the emperor. In each university there shall be lecturers on the German, French, English and Italian languages. Among the privileges of the universities, is that of having their own censorship, and of receiving all books, journals, and newspapers, from foreign countries, without their being submitted to the board of foreign censorship.

According to an Imperial Ukase, a school of jurisprudence is to be established at St. Petersburg for the instruction of young men of noble families intended for the civil service, especially for legal employment.

A school for the study of the Chinese language has been opened, by the emperor's orders, at Kiachta, on the frontiers of Mongol Tartary, to facilitate the commercial intercourse between Russia and China.

M. Kovaliosky, professor in the University of Casan, has published a Mongol Chrestomathie, which deserves general attention, because it contains, in a systematic order, valuable, and hitherto unknown fragments, relative to the history and literature of the Mongols. The work is divided into four volumes. The first is a collection of stories from the best works, both printed and MS., containing notices of Buddhism; the second contains historical fragments on the fate of Buddhism in China, Tibet, India and Mongolia; the third, the Buddhist Catechism, and some dogmatic chapters; and the fourth, the history of the reign of Khoubalai Khan, from a MS. Chronicle—a tradition of the Bouraits—fragments of the philosophy of Khonne-dzi-ia and Mon-dzi-ia—ordinances of the Emperors of China—some specimens of the correspondence of the Mongol government with the Russian officers—a collection of dialogues of Zine-vine-Zimine—specimens of private letters and poems.

M. Kovaliosky intends to publish a Buddhist Cosmology, a History of Buddhism, and a Mongol-Russian Dictionary, in four volumes.

Baron C. D'Ohsson has published *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchingez Khan jusqu'à Tamerlan*, 4 vols. 8vo. with a map of Asia in the thirteenth century.

The Northern Bee (a journal in the Russian language) contains an Essay by Sergiss Scromnenko against a work published at Paris by the title of "La

Chronique de Nestor traduite en Français par Louis Paris," in which the author endeavours to prove that M. Paris is ignorant of the Russian language —that he is unacquainted with the history and literature of Russia—and that he has, for the most part, only translated into French the bad German translation of Scherer, which is not at all to be depended on.

SWEDEN.

The second volume of one of the most recent important productions of Swedish literature has lately been published, viz. " P. Wieselgren, Sveriges skäna Literatur; Andra delen. Statens Sköna Literatur." It contains the belles-lettres of Sweden, and comprises the most ancient times and the middle ages. This work is regarded by the Swedish literati as of great importance. It is not only far more circumstantial and comprehensive than any preceding work of the kind, but is interesting to all lovers of ancient northern literature in general, because the old Scandinavian fables and popular songs are treated of in detail, and with much critical acumen.

TURKEY.

Achmet Ferizi Pacha, chief inspector of the Military School, has established a printing-press in that institution, where the pupils act as compositors. He has lately presented to the sultan a small book as the first fruits of their skill.

Saib Effendi Ferizi-Zadi, writer in the Mosque of Emir Sultan at Broussa, has compiled, from original sources, a " History of the Ottoman Empire, to the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamed." The sultan has ordered the work to be printed at the expense of the imperial treasury, and has conferred on the author a pension of 6000 piastres. Several new works have lately been printed at the imperial press. Among them are an Arabic, Persian and Turkish Dictionary, and a Treatise on Morals.

*** A work of peculiar interest at the present moment, as illustrating the state of Greece and the designs of Russia in regard to that country, has just issued from the press of Heidelberg, in Germany. It is intitled, " Das Griechische Volk, in öffentlicher, kirchlicher, und privat-rechtlicher Beziehung" —" The Greek People in its Political, Ecclesiastical and Social Relations, before and after the Struggle for Independence, up to the 1st of June, 1835." Two volumes are published, and these will be followed by a third, consisting of State Papers and Documents. The author, Mr. G. L. von Maurer, was a Member of the Royal Regency of Greece, and the disclosures which he makes are so unpalatable to the King of Bavaria, that he is said to have prohibited the circulation of the work in his dominions. We did hope to be able to present our readers with a review of this book in our present number, but the time required for the due consideration of its important contents, compels us to defer it till our next publication.

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